

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

Published by the
SOCIOLOGY CLUB
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII



VOLUME XIII

1949

HONOLULU, HAWAII, U.S.A.

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University of Hawaii

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FOREWORD

Social Process in Hawaii offers as its central theme for this issue, 'The Community.' To some degree, all twelve of the previous issues of *Social Process* have been devoted to the same theme, insofar as we have always attempted to provide an understanding of the many interacting forces operating in this island community. The concept of the community is interpreted somewhat broadly in the present issue to cover not only the territorial aspects of social life on the eight islands of the Hawaiian group but also the relations of Hawaii as a whole with the rest of the world. With the advent of faster plane service, improved radio transmission, television, and a host of other technological changes, including finally, atomic energy, one can no longer think exclusively in terms of his own local community. More and more, the Island scene is set on the stage of a one world community.

Thus, a knowledge of other and wider communities will contribute greatly to the understanding of the common sociological processes, which, although familiar to the social scientist, are often overlooked by the layman. Perhaps this knowledge will help us to have a better understanding of how our neighbors in other communities live and think.

No attempt has been made to present all the various aspects of the local community. To do so would require many volumes and years of research. Instead we have suggested to our guest contributors that they focus attention upon the theme of the community and we have attempted to select articles from our student contributors which describe some of the typical communities in Hawaii. The economy of the Islands is primarily agricultural, with the plantation as its most common type of community organization. It is not assumed, however, that the accounts of Hawaiian plantations provided by student residents do full justice to

the many variations of plantation life in Hawaii. Nor do the articles on independent farming communities exhaust the possibilities of these important community studies.

Dr. Jesse F. Steiner, visiting professor from the University of Washington, offers some new material on the community adjustments of Mainland Nisei. Dr. Steiner, whom we were fortunate to have on our campus this year, will certainly be remembered by the overflowing students in his classes as a 'student's sociologist.' His article, 'Japanese-Americans on the Mainland--Post War Status and Problems,' offers a penetrating and current description of the problems encountered by the Nisei there. This article also presents some suggestive observations comparing the local with the Mainland Japanese in their progress on the road to cultural assimilation.

President Gregg Sinclair of the University of Hawaii used a one-world point of view in his recent address to the student body upon his return from a trip around the world. His speech was entitled, 'Conversations Around the World.' Because of the timeliness of his remarks and observations, we feel privileged in being able to publish some portions of his address, including the section on Great Britain, which today is undergoing extensive social change.

Miss Constance Barnes, tenant supervisor of the Hawaii Housing Authority, writes of the local housing situation with good insight into some of the important problems encountered. Her article, 'Housing: An Investment in Citizenship,' offers a wealth of sociological data in the field of housing in Honolulu.

Dr. Andrew W. Lind presents a picture of the rural community, in his article, 'Kona, Haven of Peoples.' He writes from a long acquaintance with Hawaii's coffee-growing community, including a field trip last summer. This article is followed by several contributions by graduate and

undergraduate students in sociology: Benjamin Menor, Morris Pang, Louise Jessen, and others. Their observations and reflections on the local community contribute to a better understanding of life in Hawaii.

These articles are intended, not so much as an exhaustive analysis, but rather as a somewhat broad introduction to the study of the Hawaiian community. It is believed that the informative and interpretive statements provided here regarding the major types of Hawaiian communities and Hawaii's relations to the wider world will help to make more meaningful the technical studies produced by professional sociologists.

We hope that the reader will be pleased by the change in price and the type of printing. Because of the heavy expenses of printing and the limited availability of student labor, we have decided to present a new format which utilizes a less expensive type of reproduction and thereby keeps the project within student means.

In the years to come we hope to stabilize the price. In any case, *Social Process in Hawaii* will continue to draw on the inexhaustible storehouse of sociological materials found in Hawaii. To the more serious student of sociology, may we suggest that you put your name on our permanent mailing list and start your collection of *Social Process in Hawaii* now.

The staff of *Social Process in Hawaii* wishes to thank those who have aided in making this year's publication possible. It was only through their efforts and untiring generosity that we are able to present this issue to you. We wish to express our gratitude to the Sociology Department, University Extension Division, Miss Peggy Kainuma, Katherine Niles Lind, Beatrice Lum, and many others who have graciously helped us in one way or another.

Walter Ing

JAPANESE-AMERICANS ON THE MAINLAND

POST-WAR STATUS AND PROBLEMS*

Jesse F. Steiner

What is the post-war status of the Mainland Nisei? To what extent have they recovered from the disillusionment and frustration and feelings of bitterness growing out of their evacuation from the Pacific coast? Do the Americans of Japanese ancestry suffer greater or less race discrimination than during pre-war years? Is any significant progress being made toward the goal of wider economic opportunity?

While these questions cannot now be answered with complete finality, there is ample evidence that the gloomy predictions made during early months of the war concerning the future of the Nisei in America were unduly exaggerated. The fear that their assimilation into American life would be pushed far into the future has turned out to be groundless. In our appraisal of their war experiences we now see that they included not merely the ignominy of evacuation, but also their acceptance of it as an expression of their American loyalty. And when the public became aware of their courage in battle on the European front and their invaluable services in military intelligence in the Pacific area, the tide of favorable public opinion pushed into the background the wartime suspicions and calumnies that were intensified by the pre-war racial attitudes on the Pacific coast. A review of the present situation of the Nisei, three years after V-J day, makes it apparent that their assimilation, slowed up by the war, is again going forward much more satisfactorily than would formerly have been thought possible.

*Data for this article were secured chiefly from the files of the following Nisei newspapers: The *Pacific Citizen* and the *JACL Reporter*, both published in Salt Lake City, and the *Northwest Times*, published in Seattle.

One of the significant changes brought about by the war is the wider redistribution of the Japanese population throughout the nation. In 1940, 95 per cent of the Japanese on the Mainland were living in the Pacific and Mountain divisions. Even in this western area they were highly concentrated. Three-fourths of their total number resided in California and nearly two-thirds were in ten counties of the three Pacific Coast states. As a result of the crowding together of the Japanese in more or less segregated communities, the Nisei remained largely under the influence of the immigrant generation and had a minimum of opportunity for wider associations.

A beginning in the wartime dispersion of the Nisei was made shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor when those attending college in the western military zone were encouraged to transfer to institutions in other parts of the country. As a result of this movement, which was continued after the evacuation from the Pacific coast, 5,500 Nisei were distributed in small groups among more than five hundred colleges and universities where, under the most favorable conditions, they had opportunity for social contacts with Caucasian students.

During the course of the war, increasing numbers of the Japanese, mostly Nisei, took advantage of the permission given them to leave the Relocation Centers and find employment in the Middle West and Eastern states. When the restrictions against their return to the Pacific Coast were removed in January, 1945, thirty-five thousand had already settled in other areas. There was, however, no immediate rush to go back to their former homes, and at the time of the closing of the Relocation Centers in March, 1946, fifty-two thousand or nearly half of all the evacuees were apparently located satisfactorily in different places far distant from the Pacific Coast.

Even before the end of the war, Chicago had replaced Los Angeles as the chief population

center of the Japanese in America. The twenty thousand or more who had located there during the war found little difficulty in securing much better jobs than they had been able to get previously in the West. But restrictive covenants prevented them from securing homes in desirable residential neighborhoods. Large numbers of the Japanese crowded together on the lower south side in a blighted housing area where they built up a racial ghetto similar to those that had previously existed in West Coast cities. Dissatisfaction with living conditions and the natural desire to return to their former homes brought about a small but continuing stream of migration to the Pacific Coast. It is claimed, however, that their places are being taken by earlier migrants who, discouraged by their difficulties in securing suitable employment on the West Coast, are returning to Chicago where they plan to make their permanent home. It was estimated that approximately eighteen thousand Japanese resided in Chicago in 1948. Their successful business enterprises and their opportunities for employment in different trades and professions in this Midwestern metropolis have given them a sense of economic security which they had never had in the West.

In other Middle West and Eastern cities the Japanese have settled in fewer numbers and have shown little tendency toward residential segregation. Approximately six thousand are in the large cities on the eastern seaboard, two thousand of whom are living in New York City. In considerably smaller numbers they have established themselves in Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis and other Middle Western cities where those who have acquired skills in varied economic fields have found no difficulty in securing remunerative employment. In Minneapolis and St. Paul, where there has been a notable lack of racial discrimination, there were among the Nisei residents of those cities in 1948 an Episcopalian minister, a physician on the faculty of the University of Minnesota Medical School, a chemistry instructor in the same university, a professor at St. Thomas College, and a

superintendent of nurses in a maternity hospital. In addition, other Nisei held positions as medical technicians, newspaper artists, school teachers, dentists, symphony orchestra members, and architects.

West of the Mississippi River and especially in the Mountain states, agriculture has provided an increasing economic opportunity for Japanese settlers. Utah's Japanese population comprises about 4,500, the majority of whom are at work on farms. In the South Platte river valley in Colorado there is a prosperous settlement of Japanese farmers who own and operate large grain, dairy, and cattle ranches. The more successful have built comfortable homes, sent their children to college, and are accepted socially by their white neighbors. In widely separated places in the Great Plains and in the Rocky Mountains are small settlements of Japanese farmers who migrated there during the war and succeeded in establishing themselves in agriculture.

The return movement of the widely dispersed Japanese to the Pacific Coast went forward with increasing momentum in the months following the end of the war in spite of the fact that they were returning to localities where their welcome was not assured. Thousands who had formerly been independent farmers or proprietors of small business establishments were compelled to make a new start as farm workers or unskilled laborers. Restrictive covenants hampered their choice of residential neighborhoods and made inevitable the revival of the old pattern of racial segregation. Under these circumstances their own racial organizations took on new life, and the Japanese community tended to be isolated from the wider life of the town or city as was the case before the war.

Los Angeles, during the past two or three years, has again become the city of largest concentration of Japanese population on the Pacific Coast. Gradually, the Japanese merchants have been getting back their former property on Front

street but they now share that run down business district with Negroes and other races and nationalities. The Little Tokyo that is being reestablished is much more cosmopolitan than it was in pre-war years. Only a small beginning has been made by the Japanese in setting themselves up again in the flower-growing industry and in their operation of retail and wholesale flower markets. A notable change in the pre-war pattern of employment is the demand for Nisei girls as stenographers and office workers. Young Nisei men also are finding new opportunities for employment in industrial concerns.

The four or five thousand Japanese who have returned to San Francisco found their pre-war homes in that city largely occupied by Negroes. Their foothold in business was lost and they were compelled to make a new start by securing jobs as gardeners or as minor employees in hotels and restaurants. As a result of the evacuation they are at the bottom of the occupational ladder with the prospect of years of struggle to regain their former economic position.

In the field of agriculture, which prior to the war provided a living for nearly two thirds of the West Coast Japanese, the returning evacuees have made comparatively little headway either in California or in the Pacific Northwest. Not more than one fourth of former Japanese farmers have resumed operation of farms in the evacuated areas. The Imperial and the San Joaquin Valleys in California were especially hostile to the return of the Japanese. Santa Clara Valley offered the least resistance and has become the scene of the greatest Japanese activity among those trying to reestablish themselves in agriculture. Relatively few Japanese farmers have been able to return to the fertile valleys in the Puget Sound region where they formerly owned and operated prosperous farms.

In the cities of the Pacific Northwest, the returning evacuees seem to face difficulties somewhat similar to those in California. Three years after the close of the war more than five thousand

persons of Japanese ancestry had settled in Seattle, about three-fourths as many as had resided there in 1940. The majority found homes in the same districts where they had formerly lived, and many of the business locations that had been taken over by Negroes gradually came again into the possession of the Japanese. Their housing problem was partially solved by the initiative of the well-to-do Japanese who leased hotels and apartment houses and then sub-let rooms and apartments to others of their own race.

For the most part the returning Japanese have found that their economic position has worsened. Before the war more than one-third gained their living as proprietors of independent business enterprises whereas in this post-war period only one fifth occupy this status. They have to a large extent lost out as operators of vegetable and fruit markets which formerly were widely distributed throughout the city. A study made in 1948 by the Institute of Labor Economics of the University of Washington showed that Japanese wage earners along with other racial minority groups still face serious handicaps when they seek employment as skilled or semi-skilled workers. Those employed by Caucasian firms are most frequently given jobs as porters, chambermaids, busboys, dishwashers, and similar positions in hotels, restaurants, and hospitals. Only a small beginning has been made in securing employment in large industrial firms. Civil service positions have become a major outlet for Nisei girls with stenographic and office training. The Nisei are frequently denied membership in labor organizations, and employers tend to refuse their applications for jobs on the ground that other employees would object.

On the other hand, it should be added that professionally trained Nisei have been cordially welcomed as employees at the University of Washington where they hold academic positions in various fields. Four Nisei are faculty members in the Far Eastern department, three Nisei in the

Sociology department, one in the Art department, and one in the department of Mathematics. Research fellowships are held by one Nisei in Electrical Engineering and by another in Biology, while teaching fellowships have been granted to two Nisei in Geography and Pharmacy. About 225 Nisei are studying at this University, about one hundred and fifty less than before the war. In striking contrast to their success in winning faculty appointments at the University, the doors of employment of Nisei teachers in the public school system of the city have barely begun to open.

In this review of the redistribution of the Japanese on the Mainland since the end of the war, it is apparent that the old pattern of residential segregation in urban communities is again being widely followed especially in West Coast cities. One reason why this tendency has been almost inevitable is the existence of restrictive covenants which have become much more widely extended than in former years. Many post-war housing developments and some of the smaller California cities make full use of restrictive covenants to exclude all Oriental residents. In the larger cities on the Pacific Coast non-whites are not permitted to reside in many of the more desirable residential areas.

In view of this widespread effort to place restrictions upon the place of residence of people of Oriental ancestry, the decision of the Supreme Court in May, 1948 that restrictive covenants are not enforceable by civil suits is of great significance. While this decision does not abolish such covenants, their effectiveness has been greatly impaired, and the first step has been taken toward the removal of racial barriers from the field of housing. Since the urban Japanese long before the war had tended to leave the Oriental quarter and seek residence in more desirable neighborhoods in so far as their economic resources and public opinion permitted, there is

good reason to assume that when devices to enforce residential segregation become ineffective, the Japanese will be among the first to abandon their racial ghettos.

In general, the post-war pattern of racial segregation in Pacific Coast cities is bringing about a reestablishment of institutions that cater primarily to the needs of the Japanese communities. In Seattle, the *Northwest Times*, an English language newspaper, has taken the place of the *Japanese Courier* published by the Nisei before the war. Japanese language schools are already in operation in some of the larger cities. Japanese stores, shops, and service establishments are flourishing through the patronage of their own people. Christian churches and Buddhist temples that were formerly supported by the Japanese communities have again become active. Nisei, trained for the professions of law, medicine, dentistry and other fields, find their best opportunity of success in segregated Japanese districts.

But while the factors and forces that are slowing up the assimilation of the Japanese on the Pacific Coast are too great to be easily overcome, it must not be overlooked that organized opposition is much less virulent than in the past. The California Joint Immigration Committee, which in 1942 urged the deportation of all Japanese-Americans and the barring of all Japanese from America in the future, is still active but has lost much of its former influence. The American Legion in at least many of its California chapters has repudiated its former anti-Japanese policy. The American Federation of Labor in the past was entirely a white man's organization and some of its California locals are still operating on that basis; but their recent repudiation of the program of the Joint Immigration Committee indicates that much of the Oriental prejudice in labor groups is declining.

The Native Sons of the Golden West, once a power in California politics, has for many years

stood for white supremacy and has made political capital out of the issue of the so-called Yellow Peril. While this organization still retains its racial bias, its advocacy of anti-Japanese policies no longer meets with wide response. The action of the San Francisco and Los Angeles Boards of Supervisors in passing resolutions in support of the bill granting the right of naturalization to alien Japanese indicates that the Native Sons of the Golden West have lost much of their political influence. The changing attitude of California public officials appears in the following statement made at the burial of the Nisei war dead at Los Angeles in May, 1948 by Mayor Bowron of that city, who had demanded mass evacuation of the Japanese in 1942 as a security measure: "The integrity of those of Japanese blood born in this country has been definitely and completely established for all time. In Los Angeles the question will never again be raised. Their position is secure. They are our neighbors, our fellow citizens."

One of the worst blows to the status of the Mainland Nisei was the decision to include them with their alien parents in the evacuation of the Japanese from the Pacific Coast. This violation of their rights as American citizens was a bitter humiliation, but their evacuation was carried out as planned, thus placing all under suspicion of disloyalty to the country of their birth. After the Supreme Court's ruling in 1944 that those Nisei whose loyalty was unquestioned could not be detained in the Relocation Centers, Congress passed a law authorizing voluntary renunciation of citizenship so that the renunciants could then be interned as enemy aliens. When the opportunity to sign American Loyalty affidavits was given to residents of the Tule Lake Segregation Center, to which large numbers of the pro-Japanese evacuees had been removed, more than five thousand Nisei renounced their American citizenship. After V-J day in 1945, about one thousand were voluntarily repatriated with their parents to Japan.

Following the war, practically all the Nisei who had refused to sign loyalty affidavits regretted this step which they blamed upon the abnormal conditions that prevailed at Tule Lake during the period of their detention. In 1946, about 2,300 of them filed suit for the restoration of their citizenship charging that they acted under duress and were forced to take this action because of the threats of pro-Japanese nationalists and the pleas of their parents who wanted their children to return to Japan with them.

In July, 1948, Federal District Judge Goodman of California ruled that the renunciations should never have been accepted and were invalid. He stated in his decision that "totality of circumstances constituted coercion; that the renunciants acted abnormally because of abnormal conditions not of their own making; and that the government under the stress and necessities of national defense had committed error." He therefore set aside their written renunciations of citizenship and placed upon the Department of Justice the burden of bringing forward evidence to prove in specific cases that the renunciations were freely made. Following Judge Goodman's decision, the 2,600 other renunciants who did not participate in the filing of the suit were permitted to add their names to the original list of litigants and share in the benefits of the decision.

While this decision did all that could be done at this late date to remedy some of the evils that grew out of the evacuation, it is inevitable that the loyal Nisei should suffer some suspicion because of the activities of their pro-Japanese associates. The injustice and restraints of the evacuation no doubt increased the number of those who finally decided to give up their American citizenship. But whatever excuses may be made for their action, there is no doubt that the status of all the Mainland Nisei was gravely threatened by the defection of the five thousand whose spirit of loyalty was broken by their evacuation experience.

As the bitterness and hatreds engendered by the war recede in the background, the American public has fortunately tended to look upon the evacuation as one of the nation's most tragic mistakes, and therefore has become much less severely critical of those Nisei whose American loyalty did not stand the test of that act of injustice.

One of the serious handicaps faced by the Nisei in gaining full acceptance into American life has been their immigrant parents' status as aliens ineligible for citizenship. This denial of the right of naturalization to immigrants from Asiatic countries has tended to magnify the differences between European and Asiatic immigrants and has provided a basis for discriminatory laws that apply primarily to Orientals. During and since the war beginnings were made in removing this disability by repealing the Chinese exclusion laws and granting to Chinese, Filipinos, and East Indians residing in America the right to apply for citizenship. A bill was introduced into the Eightieth Congress to extend the same privileges to Japanese and other peoples in Asia and the South Pacific region, but this proposed legislation did not get beyond the stage of committee hearings. On March 3, 1949 the House of Representatives of the Eighty-first Congress voted in favor of a similar bill giving the right of naturalization to all legal residents of the United States regardless of race. Apparently, public opinion favors this legislation, and since unexpected support has been given by influential individuals and organizations on the Pacific Coast, this legislation may very probably receive also a favorable vote in the Senate.

The vast majority of Japanese aliens who would benefit by this legislation have lived in the United States for thirty or more years and have a satisfactory record as law abiding members of their communities. Language difficulties and advancing age would likely prevent many from achieving American citizenship, but granting them equality in naturalization will remove the odium

as well as the disadvantages of being classified as aliens ineligible for citizenship and will therefore be a source of great satisfaction to all the American Nisei.

In the meantime, steps have already been taken to remove some of the disabilities growing out of our present immigration and naturalization laws. In July, 1947, the provisions of the Soldiers' Bride Act of 1945 were broadened to include the admission of alien Japanese wives of servicemen and veterans on the same basis as other alien spouses of races admissible under our laws. This amendment has made it possible for six hundred Japanese-American GIs in Japan as well as some three hundred other Americans to bring their alien wives back with them to the United States. Since the passage of the 1924 immigration law which provided for the exclusion of aliens ineligible for citizenship, this is the first time that Congress has permitted alien Japanese to enter the United States for permanent residence.

Of interest also is the Keating Bill enacted by Congress in 1948 which puts the Japanese veterans into the same category of eligibility for citizenship as the European alien veterans. Previously, the limitations and requirements faced by Japanese alien veterans who wanted to acquire American citizenship made it difficult for such veterans to be naturalized. It is expected that this new legislation will facilitate the naturalization of about one hundred Japanese alien veterans who for one reason or another have been unable to secure American citizenship.

In an appraisal of the status and prospects of the American Nisei, it must not be forgotten that their numbers will very probably be augmented by the return to America of thousands who went to Japan sometime prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor and were stranded there during the war years. This large group, estimated to be twenty thousand or more, grew at least partially out of the difficult economic situation that confronted them on

the West coast and in Hawaii during the financial depression of the 1930's when employment was hard to secure. Among them were college graduates and others possessing various skills who saw no future for themselves in America and decided that they would have a better opportunity for a successful career in Japan. Some were fortunate enough to secure good positions with Japanese exporting and importing firms who needed Japanese and English speaking employees with American experience. Others, more or less dissatisfied with living conditions and unable to find jobs in accord with their expectations, delayed too long their return to America and were compelled to remain in Japan throughout the war. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that some cast their lot with the Japanese nation and participated in different kinds of war activities. Much wider publicity has been given to the two Nisei who were returned to America to be tried for treason than to the many others whose loyalty to the land of their birth withstood all pressures brought upon them by the Japanese authorities.

During the past three years more than two thousand war-stranded Nisei, whose American citizenship has been certified by American consular authorities, have returned from Japan to their former homes in America. Several thousand others have been refused permission to repatriate themselves because of their participation in war activities in Japan. It is very probable that as the memories of the war fade away in future years, present restrictions against the return of this latter group to America will be removed and many of them will take advantage of the opportunity to be repatriated. The American Nisei will therefore be a much less homogeneous group because of these repatriates whose American heritage has been more or less modified by their years of contact with Japanese civilization. It may be that these repatriates, who have greater fluency in the Japanese language and are more familiar with things Japanese will, in future years, tend to replace the

aging immigrant generation as guardians of the language and culture of their ancestral land.

In conclusion, the question might well be asked whether there are any significant differences between the Mainland and the Hawaiian Nisei from the point of view of their post-war status and progress toward assimilation. Have the Mainland Nisei been more or less successful than the Hawaiian group in throwing off their Oriental heritage and establishing themselves satisfactorily in the American community? While a question of this kind is very difficult to answer, it is possible to call attention to certain factors that seem to differentiate the two groups in their efforts to obtain complete acceptance by their fellow Americans.

Of the greatest possible significance is the fact that the Japanese in Hawaii almost equal the Caucasians in number and constitute one of the largest racial groups in the Islands. This is in striking contrast to the situation on the Mainland where the Japanese comprise less than one-tenth of one per cent of the total population. Even if we consider only their areas of chief concentration on the Pacific Coast, they comprise a very small minority--no more than one per cent of all who reside in that western region.

This weak position numerically has discouraged the Mainland Nisei from participating actively in the field of politics. Rarely have they competed for an important political office and very few have had sufficient prestige to secure popular support at the polls. The Hawaiian Nisei, on the other hand, are sufficiently numerous to make their influence felt in political circles. They not only become candidates for office but frequently are able to gain a wide following among the people in general and win elections in competition with candidates representing other racial groups. The Hawaiian Nisei seem to be more mature politically and excel the Mainland Nisei in bearing their share of responsibility in the field of government.

The Mainland Nisei, however, are far more aggressive than the Hawaiian group in the support of their own racial organization, the Japanese-American Citizens League which, through its Anti-Discrimination Committee, has maintained an active lobby in Washington D. C. and has vigorously supported legislation in the interests of the Japanese in America. The *Pacific Citizen*, the official organ of the Japanese-American Citizens League is published weekly by Mainland Nisei in Salt Lake City as is also the *JACL Reporter*, a monthly newspaper of the same national organization. Even the comparatively small group of Nisei in the Pacific Northwest publish the *Northwest Times*, whereas in Hawaii the Nisei do not publish their own English language newspaper but still make use of the bilingual press founded by the Japanese first generation.

The aggressiveness on the part of the Mainland Nisei in publishing their own papers and in actively working for national legislation that will benefit the entire Japanese community in America is largely an outgrowth of the racial discrimination which in so many ways handicaps their efforts to win for themselves social and economic status. The Hawaiian Nisei, on the other hand, who comprise a large and influential group in the Islands, are more concerned with local problems and do not feel strongly the urge to unite forces with the Mainland Nisei in their efforts to secure favorable national legislation. Their more immediate interests are in the field of labor relations where they have been more successful than the Mainland Nisei in joining labor organizations and providing able leaders in their struggle to gain greater economic security.

Economically, the Hawaiian Nisei seem to have a decided advantage over the Nisei residing on the Pacific Coast. In certain occupations Hawaiian Nisei may not be able to compete on equal terms with Haoles, but there is no doubt that their range of employment goes far beyond what is now available to Nisei in West Coast

cities. The visitor from the Mainland is surprised to find so many positions in the Islands filled by non-Haoles. In government offices, on the police force, in retail establishments, in public schools, and in a wide range of skilled trades and professions the Hawaiian Nisei are employed in large numbers. Unlike the Mainland Japanese, they did not suffer heavy property losses during the war and therefore are making a rapid recovery from the economic handicaps imposed upon them by wartime restrictions. But when consideration is given to the limited opportunity for future economic expansion in the Islands, the Mainland Nisei who have established themselves in the Middle West and East may be much more satisfactorily situated from the point of view of economic security in the years that lie ahead.

In their social life, the Hawaiian Nisei seem to have made a very satisfactory adjustment. The clannishness, which has been one of the characteristics of the Japanese-American communities, has not greatly restricted their social opportunities because their group is large enough to provide for all their social needs. Moreover, the friendliness of the various racial groups and the tendency to look favorably upon racial intermarriage seem to be making the Nisei more cosmopolitan, thus opening the door to wider associations. The recent trend toward the intermarriage of Nisei girls and Caucasian men goes far beyond any similar trend toward racial intermarriage of Mainland Nisei even in the Eastern cities.

When a comparison is made between the Nisei at the University of Hawaii with Nisei at West Coast universities, striking differences may be noted both in their general appearance and in their associations with other students. The Mainland Nisei, who constitute such a small minority of the total student body, frequently give the impression of staying in the background as if they were not sure of being made welcome at social functions or at other campus activities. Very likely, rebuffs and slights in their past experience have made them unduly sensitive so that they find it diffi-

cult to associate normally with other students. The college Nisei in Hawaii, on the contrary, are among the leaders in campus functions. At university dances, where they usually constitute the dominant racial group, their poise, gracious manner, and observance of the social amenities make them indistinguishable from college students in any university.

In the matter of scholarship both groups have built up a reputation for industry and ability and have proven themselves able to compete successfully with other students. The Mainland Nisei between the ages of fifteen and twenty maintained during the 1930's the highest percentage of attendance at school of any other racial group including native whites of native parentage. The Seattle Nisei, both in high school and at the University of Washington had, during the decade preceding the war, considerably more than their quota of honor students. This record of high scholarship may have been largely due to their feeling that demonstration of superior ability is their best means of overcoming discrimination in their competition for employment. It may also be explained in part by their reliance on scholarship to give them the status that is denied them in the social world. In the Honolulu schools and at the University of Hawaii, where it is generally assumed that the Nisei conform more nearly to the scholastic level of the student body, their more normal opportunities to participate in social, athletic, and other extra-curricular activities consume time and energy which might otherwise be given to their studies; and what is even more important, through these activities they can win the recognition that is so eagerly sought in campus life.

In this comparison of the Mainland and Hawaiian college Nisei, consideration should also be given to the fact that the close intermingling of different races in Hawaii has led to the emergence of a distinctive local dialect which is to a large degree the *lingua franca* of many of the young people in their homes and in their informal

social relationships. Some of the college Nisei, and more especially the boys, are likely to be critical of their companions if they insist upon speaking standard English in their casual conversations with one another. As a result of this attitude, many of the Nisei are prevented from acquiring that free use of English which comes most naturally when it is the medium of communication in the play and recreational groups of children and young people. The mainland Nisei, on the contrary, rely upon English entirely in all their social relationships from early childhood and consequently tend to speak it correctly and fluently. There is no need for them to attend speech classes to correct faulty pronunciation, and when called upon to participate in class discussion they are able to respond with much less effort and self-consciousness than is the case with many of the Hawaiian Nisei students. In the use of the English language, the Mainland Nisei seem to surpass the Hawaiian group, and in this respect have gone farther toward the goal of complete Americanization.

Nevertheless, in spite of the great differences in the environment of the Mainland and Hawaiian Nisei, their adjustment to American life in its more fundamental aspects has followed similar lines and they show little tendency to develop into two groups widely differentiated by distinctive traits. Both on the Mainland and in Hawaii, the Nisei have overcome many of the difficulties that have slowed up their progress toward assimilation. Their record of accomplishment compares favorably with that of the children of European immigrants whose ancestral heritage is much closer to American ideals and practices than is the case of those whose ancestry is in the Orient. Experience with our European immigration has shown that complete assimilation usually takes place only with the third generation. There seems ample justification for the assumption that when the third generation of Japanese-Americans comes to maturity, they will have merged themselves satisfactorily in the social, economic, and political life of the American nation.

A KOREAN IMMIGRANT

Morris Pang

"Hello, Aboji (father). How are you feeling tonight?"

"I am fine, son. What brings you here to my home on such a rainy night?"

"I've heard you tell interesting episodes of your experiences in Korea, China, Russia, Japan, and on a plantation in Hawaii, and I wondered if you would combine these stories together and tell me the story of your life."

Outside, the rain fell in a steady downpour, sometimes increasing in intensity, sometimes decreasing, and then stopping for a little while only to start again. But we were all snug and warm inside and for the next two hours, I sat in the parlor with Aboji while he told me his life history.

"I was born in Hangkyung Do, Kil Chu, Korea, in 1878," he began. "I was the ninth child in a family of ten children. In comparison with our neighbors, our family was well-off, for although we had no money as such, we had land, houses, cows, pigs, and chickens. You see, the possession of such goods was considered to be restricted to the wealthy. Thus, I say that we were quite well-to-do. Indeed we had much wealth then, especially with all the grain that we had. I can remember still how we worked in the fields all summer and then harvested the grain in such quantities that the pile would grow higher and higher, and wider and wider around the base. No, we didn't have money but we were well-off."

"Many of our neighbors were not as fortunate as we were, however, and they were forced to send their sons to Russia or to Manchuria to work. Sometimes whole families went to Manchuria to live."

Some of them came back and told us wonderful tales of the countries outside our village.

Because my family could afford it, I was sent to school instead of working in the fields. I remained in school until the sixth grade. Then one night, twenty-five of us stole away from home to seek our fortunes in Russia and to see some of the wonderful things we had heard so much about.

We stayed in Russia for about fourteen years, working as laborers at first, and as contract laborers later. We were engaged in all kinds of work--sometimes in building roads, and sometimes in building railroads. While doing the latter type of work in Vladivostok in 1902 or 1903, the Japanese and the Russians went to war. Many people died. We had to leave or take the chance of being killed. Confusion was everywhere, everybody was in panic, all the roads and railroads were blocked, and there was no place to go. We left all we had earned and fled for our lives. Many merchants and businessmen who stayed back to try to sell their property lost their lives because of their delay. We couldn't go back to Korea because the roads were blocked. Finally, we were able to get passage on an English ship and sailed for Japan. We were safe on the ship, for the Russians and the Japanese did not dare fire upon it because of the English flag.

We stayed in Japan for three months and then were able to get passage to Korea. When we arrived in Korea, we had no money left, and found that there were no opportunities for work of any kind and that conditions were bad. It was then that we heard of a man who was talking a lot about the opportunities in Hawaii. He said that it was a land of opportunity where everybody was rich. He promised to give us work, free houses, and adequate pay. It all looked very lucrative and so after reading the contract, which seemed quite suitable, thirteen of us signed. We were shipped to Mountain View, Hawaii.

It was not long before we were in the cane fields and cutting away at the cane stalks. We worked in the hot sun for ten hours a day, and the pay was fifty-nine cents a day. I was not used to this kind of work and I had a difficult time. This type of work was indeed harder than the type of contract work that I did in Russia. However, I did the best I could and struggled along with the rest of the men.

Then one day I heard of a Russian physician who lived in the vicinity of the plantation and who needed an interpreter. I could speak Russian, Japanese, and Chinese, as well as Korean, so I went to talk to him. At that time language differences were a serious handicap in interracial relations. The physician could speak only English besides his native Russian, so I interpreted Japanese, Chinese, and Korean for him. The result was that after about three days in the fields, I became an interpreter.

After a very short period, however, the physician moved away so that I had to go back to the plantation. Fortunately, because of my experience in handling men in Russia and because I had had some schooling and could read and write well, I soon became one of the lunas (foremen).

Oh, I had one more experience as an interpreter with the police department in Hilo. It was at the time of the Russian immigration to Hawaii. On one occasion the police station had become crowded with Russians and no one could speak to them. The Korean interpreter told the sheriff about me. I did not like the idea, because after the trial there might be hard feelings. However, the plantation boss told me to go. I went reluctantly. In the court room, I talked to the Russians and then interpreted what I found out to the Korean interpreter, who in turn interpreted into English from my Korean.

Plantation camp life in those days was greatly different from the type of life we lead

now in Hawaii. During those early days on the plantation, we all lived in one big camp. The men were given small houses for themselves and the single men lived in big barracks consisting of one big square sleeping-room in which there was no privacy. The men were segregated racially--the Japanese occupying one building, the Chinese another, etc. However, everybody ate in the same place--in a big kitchen. Those who wanted to could cook their own meals, and frequently, some of the men would form a group to cook their own "racial foods." Everything in the camp was free except the food. The men who ate in the big kitchen paid six dollars and fifty cents a month. Food was very cheap then, one bag of rice costing only a dollar and fifty cents.

A working day on the plantation followed the same pattern, day in and day out. The cook would get up at three o'clock in the morning and prepare breakfast and make lunches for the men, who got up at five o'clock. A train would take them to the place of work in the fields, after the lunas had gone to the boss in charge to get their assignments for the day.

I was in charge of two hundred and fifty workers--two hundred men and fifty women. After receiving my assignment I would take my group out to the fields and begin work at six o'clock. We worked ten hours in the blazing sun and had only a half hour for lunch. As a luna, I was responsible for my group. We worked on a contract basis because it paid more. Some of the plantations paid by the month--eighteen dollars a month. When we contracted, we would get as much as one dollar and twenty-five cents a day. My workers received between seventy-five cents to a dollar and twenty-five cents a day. The women's wages ranged from seventy-five cents to a dollar. As a luna, I was paid seventy-five dollars a month.

When we got to the fields, I would line the workers up, with the fastest worker at the head of the line, and so on. By doing this, I got more

work out of them. A good luna is always kind to his men. If he is mad all the time the men will resent it and work poorly. I had workers of all races in my group--Hawaiians, Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and Koreans. Every day, the Number Three Boss would inspect the camp after we left for the fields and then would come out to see how we worked. At four thirty o'clock we would quit work and walk wearily back to the train and start for the camp. On the way back, I had to record the men's time. I could tell who they were by their faces, for I knew them well. When we got back to the camp, we ate, washed, and then went directly to bed.

During the harvesting season, we even worked on Sundays and holidays--seven days a week, ten hours a day. Otherwise we had Sunday off. Some of us went visiting while others just slept.

There were three Haole bosses. They were good men. They gave us free houses and anything we needed if we were good and did not cause trouble. They did not bother us at all and most of the men liked the bosses. They all lived in big houses quite a distance away.

Thus ended Aboji's long story about his early experiences. The rest of his story was more familiar to me: his marriage, my parents' move to Oahu in 1922, and Aboji's purchase of a laundry there, the growth of the family, sons, daughters, and grandchildren.

As an afterthought I asked Aboji whether he never thought of returning to Korea some day. He replied, 'At one time I wanted very much to go back to Korea, but now that I am old and I haven't seen my parents since I was eleven years old, my feelings have changed. I don't even know whether they are alive or not. Besides, I have been in Hawaii a long time and I have a family of my own here. No, I don't care very much to go back to Korea. I am too old. I think I would like to spend the rest of my life in Hawaii.'

I thanked Aboji for the story of his life. Seeing that the rain had stopped, and that it was getting rather late, I made ready to leave for my home. As I was leaving the house, I saw Aboji staring into space--probably reminiscing. I wondered what thoughts were running through his head. Perhaps he was recalling the days spent in Hangkyung Do, or Vladivostok, or the ten years on the plantation here in Hawaii.

CONVERSATIONS AROUND THE WORLD

Gregg M. Sinclair

'Conversations Around the World' was the title of the address delivered by President Gregg M. Sinclair at a convocation of the University of Hawaii student body after his return from a Sabbatical Leave during the latter half of 1948. Because of Hawaii's keen sense of participation in world affairs, and because of President Sinclair's vivid portrayal of social life through conversations, we are delighted to present the first portion of the address in this issue of *Social Process in Hawaii*.--Ed.

We were warned by an innumerable host. 'Go around the world in 1948? Are you insane? There's going to be a war!' And their kind warnings were timely in one respect: we did not get to China because of the civil war there or to Japan; we substituted the Philippine Republic--and yet, to see a new country struggling to establish itself in freedom and independence--but I am ahead of my story.

We went around the world: bumped into State Socialism in England; saw two cabinets fall in France; gloried in the stability of Switzerland; ran afoul of a Communist parade in Italy; learned a lot about newspaper reporters in Greece; understood better the significance of our Palestine policy as it related to the Moslems in Egypt and the Near East; found a new nation enjoying its first year of freedom in India; perceived for the first time the unusual position of Siam; and rejoiced in the Filipinos' attempts to make a country of their own.

I

'You know, of course, that you are eating your week's ration?'

It was the nice old lady who spoke, the one who had been so kind the evening before in telling

us of the glories of Inverness, the capital of the Scotch Highlands.

We looked at our plates: one egg and two strips of bacon. Before we could make any comment, she poured it on. 'Yes, a week's ration. For nine years we have fought the war, and we are not eating as well now as we were during the war. I'm sick of boiled potatoes and boiled cabbage, but what can we do? If we have any money we come to a hotel like this and get a little more food to sustain us a little longer, but even here we have to give up our points. I tell you, single old people in Great Britain are starving. It's only when people band together they can get any relief from the monotony of food and any nutritional variety. We're really in a bad way.

'And we cannot buy any clothes either. We see the nice things in the shops, but they are all for export. I get one dress and one slip a year. You can buy all you want to, of course; you have dollars, but we English--' And she turned to her breakfast; she turned back to us almost instantly. 'I'm sorry I spoke so harshly. We're getting along all right really, you know. Everything will come out all right, don't you think?

'Great Britain will have rationing into the indefinite future, certainly for the rest of my lifetime.' It was the gray-haired engineer who spoke. The others, all men of business, at the Culag Hotel, Lochinver, Western Highlands, agreed. It was a 'fisherman's' hotel, and they had returned in time for tea,--but soon they were on their favorite subject.

'Why in heaven's name the Labor Government should upset everything before we had caught our breath after beating Hitler, I don't know. They are trying to do two things simultaneously: recover from the most terrible war in history, and

embark upon a new economic and social system planned by amateurs.'

'Amateurs! Oh, I wouldn't call them that!'

'Name two besides Morrison, Bevin, and Cripps who ever did anything to entitle them to turn our economy upside down, and even those three--'

'The trouble is, basically,' broke in my gray-haired friend, trying to smooth ruffled feelings, 'that Britain has too many people for the size of the country and its productivity.'

'On that score we never will work out of our difficulty,' said the emotional one. 'How did we get along before the war?'

'We had foreign assets and we had services. We had accumulated earnings from the last 150 years. And we had a sizable international trade. We had to give up our foreign assets to win the war; our shipping is down; and other countries--particularly the United States with its efficient mass production--are taking our international trade.'

'What's the answer then? What's the use of all our rationing and quotas?'

'The United States of Europe, and the faster it is formed the better; that and free trade in the area and more production, ever more production,' interposed the silent man from Leeds.

'Undoubtedly that's a part of the answer, perhaps the largest part,' said the engineer; 'but surely there is something more. We seem to have let up after the war; as a people, we're tired. Yes, Sir Stafford Cripps is right in saying we all have to work harder, to produce more. But think of the outcry among the workers if a Conservative or Liberal leader made such an appeal! But our whole psychology is wrong now. Half the young people of Britain today think the Government should support

them. They have their hands out. The spur of want and the urge of reward make no such appeal to them as to us in my young days. They don't think they can get ahead by their own efforts, and that's bad. Britain, in its great days, had the philosophy of individual responsibility and individual achievement. What it will achieve now with this new philosophy I just cannot see.'

But all agreed that character and bulldoggedness might help the British to muddle through somehow; they always had.

The train ride from Edinburgh to the English Lake District provided us with another point of view. The three college students and the retired minister more or less dominated the conversation, and yet the wife of the miner, ignorant person though she said she was, brought the talk bumping back to earth.

The students spoke pretty definitely, as students will. 'Great Britain is bankrupt. She isn't paying her way and can't for years to come. She went in the red last year nearly £230,000,000. What asininity in the government to try costly social experiments at this time of all others. Our trade was falling off even before the war; we were going under then. And during the war our factories had to manufacture war materials. A dead waste--'

The retired minister broke in. 'I'm not so discouraged as you young men seem to be. There's hope for our old country yet. What better time for social changes than when we have to make a new start? Take transportation, for instance. We had five systems, all uneconomic, providing excellent systems North and South, but extremely bad services East and West. All operated separately, whereas in a country the size of ours all should have been coordinated. This government has

unified them, and has allotted £9,000,000 for new equipment and rolling stock... Or take the mines. There were about one hundred fifty different companies, many working the same fields, all with their own lorries. How uneconomic! And you know about the rule that companies must leave a width of wall between each two properties,--not for safety's sake, but for property's. That has all been done away with. The mines have been nationalized and treated as a unit--'

'Yes, but what about the steel industry?'

'You may have a case there, and I won't take that up. Besides, the nationalization of steel is still to be done. This government also did one of the most statesmanlike acts of all English history; it gave India its freedom.'

It was at this point that the miner's wife said her piece, with much shaking of head for emphasis. Up to now she had not said a word, but I had noticed her lips purse themselves when the boys were talking. 'I'm an ignorant woman, I know; I never had much schooling. But I like this government, and I'll tell you why. It's the first government that has ever tried to help the poor people of Britain. We have better wages, better conditions; we feel we're people now and not merely animals. I don't know about India, I do know that not once since 1918 when I married my man and went to Lancaster to live with him in a miner's cottage have we had any consideration from London until this government came in. And in those years I've seen women starving and their husbands and their children, too, and who cared? But now we've got a government that does care. It's for us.' And she subsided into silence--for a time.

We got on to health insurance, and the students had ideas on that subject. They were medical students--two of them--and felt they would have to practise in the colonies, anywhere but in Britain.

From the cradle to the grave--that's the phrase, and the government does it all. Soon it will be wiping little Johnny's nose; Johnny's mother won't be able to--without a permit. Soon we'll have more people working for the government than for themselves, and who'll pay the taxes then? And the student glared at the poor woman.

The minister replied. 'Oh, it won't be quite so bad as all that, though naturally we shall have to have clerks to handle the records,--about forty thousand additional people, according to an article in the *Times* the other day. The twenty-five million sheets will be handled in one hundred different rooms, with twenty clerks to a room. The possibility of error is great, though, what with 650,000 Smiths and 8,000 plain John Smiths... But really isn't the whole idea a good thing? For the first time in Britain's history a government is looking after the welfare of all the people and not merely a part of them--'

'But on whose money?' broke in the talkative student.

'On the money of all the people. Each person pays something every week, you know--'

'And think of the accounting necessary for that!'

'But think of the ultimate good for all the people!'

'That's what I am thinking of, the social implications of this act. Regimentation, that's what it means. Pretty soon the government will be telling me, a doctor, I cannot practise in London or Leeds, but must go to some dirty mining town with three hundred families--'

'And don't we need doctors, too?' challenged the miner's wife.

'Yes, but not compulsory labor,' retorted the incipient doctor. 'And that's what we shall have. Oh, it all looks good on paper, no doubt. But from telling us doctors where to go, what next? The government will be telling the workers where to go and what to eat and what to wear. This act gives the government a throttle-hold on our lives--'

'You seem to be greatly disturbed about it,' quietly interposed the minister, 'but surely you are seeing chimeras; you are alarming yourself needlessly. This act merely sees to it that the British people have the right to medical service--'

'Not merely the British people, but visitors, too, and without cost to them, visitors like this gentleman,' and he pointed to me.

'You mean, if I get ill I can have a doctor take care of me--free?' I asked.

'Yes, and if you need a tooth pulled, you can have that done free, too. Oh, we live in a great country! But it's the whole idea of regimentation of our people that I object to. That wasn't the basis of England in the days of its greatness.'

'We have to recognize one fact: the good old days are gone and gone forever,' said the minister.

IX

Home again! We wonder whether we could ever have chosen a time to travel when life would be richer, when the motivating factors of clashing civilizations could be seen to better advantage, when memories would be more worthwhile than the last six months of 1948.

One world? Decidedly!

We can no longer be parochial in our thinking. As Nehru said last summer to the United Nations

Assembly in Paris: You will not solve your problems by thinking that the problems of the world are mainly European. There are vast tracts in Asia which may not in the past have taken much part in world affairs, but they are awake, their people are moving and they have no intention whatever in being ignored or passed by. Today Asia counts in world affairs. Tomorrow it will count much more.

MY NEIGHBORHOOD

Nancy Yamada*

Less than a mile's walk from the sugar mill, principal landmark of the great M Sugar Company of one of the neighboring islands, lies a plantation camp of a little more than fifty homes. Even as plantation camps go, Camp 6 is not a pretty sight. Dust always seems to be in the air. When the mature cane is harvested, and the fields encircling the Camp are plowed, it seeps through the cracks of old and termite-ridden homes; it leaves newly washed laundry, hanging on the lines, speckled with dirt particles. Dust is the despair of the housewives of Camp 6.

Not only are the homes old and termite-ridden, but all fifty or more are painted the same depressingly drab brown. The brown of the dirt, the brown of the homes--to any newcomer to the district, the ugly brownness of it all will undoubtedly be the first impression. It is a far cry from the green freshness and the clear atmosphere of Manoa Valley. Among its people, hope of ever moving into oft promised new homes has completely vanished.

Race Relations Among the People

Originally, Camp 6 was inhabited mainly by Japanese. Today, although they still predominate, a process of invasion by Filipinos has become increasingly evident. At first, there were only two Filipino families--both of them old and established, and respected by the Japanese community. Now this number has risen to fourteen, a fact which is viewed with alarm by some of the Japanese. Most of the additional families are those of men who came from the Philippines a few

*This is a pseudonym used, at the request of the writer, in order to prevent embarrassment to persons involved.

years ago as contract laborers on the plantation. They are clustered into four distinct and cohesive groups, and though relations are peaceful, there is very little intercourse between them and the Japanese. The latter half of the above statement is correct only in reference to adults, for the children present an entirely different story. The rapid adjustment of the slight and undernourished children of the new immigrant laborers to the peculiar ways of the rowdy and fun loving Oriental children of Camp 6 was to me most amazing. Within a few weeks, they, who hardly spoke any English, were chattering happily in the most fluent Pidgin. It was truly a marvelous process to observe.

On one end of the neighborhood, across the street, is a little subdivision of the camp, which was once inhabited principally by Chinese. Although the Chinese population there has since declined considerably, and the number of Japanese, Filipinos, and Hawaiian have increased, the area is still referred by the villagers as 'pake camp.' It contains the one store in the whole of Camp 6. Its Chinese proprietor, having earned enough money, recently sold out to a Filipino and has returned to the old country. Formerly called simply 'pake store,' today it is jokingly referred to as 'Manila Store.' (It has no official name that I know of.) Racial differentiation has hardly been submerged under the common aura of Americanism. The people of my neighborhood still tend, of their own free will, toward segregation by ethnic groups.

Among the Japanese themselves, there seems to be a difference in status between Okinawan and *Naichi*. (*Naichi* are the Japanese from the main home islands, regardless of what prefecture they belong to.) The Okinawans, who are gradually increasing in numbers even though they are the most mobile group, constitute a peculiar case in that they are not regarded as social equals by the *Naichi*. At least in times past, they have lived a life quite separate from the 'mainlanders.' They

were not invited to *Naichi* social events; neither were *Naichi* invited to theirs. Among children, whenever a quarrel occurred between Okinawan and *Naichi*, the inevitable remark of the *Naichi* child was 'Okinawa-big rope!' to which the Okinawan child's quick retort was *Naichi-no mo' blood!* It was almost a ritual this name calling. (The translation of the two terms were the children's own.)

Marriage between an Okinawan and a *Naichi* used to be frowned upon. Today, with the marked trend toward mixed marriages in Hawaii, I imagine the average *Naichi* family would be more than glad to accept an Okinawan son-in-law, rather than have their daughters marry Haoles, Filipinos, Hawaiians, or Chinese.

The distinct divisions are definitely disappearing--due in large measure, to war which brought on a closer cooperation and a 'consciousness of kind' in their common aims and in feelings of fear and insecurity. Our relations with the Okinawan families that now completely encircle our home are as cordial and amiable as the relations between any good neighbors. Anything novel or good to eat, we share with the neighbors and they reciprocate. This is as it should be for *Naichi* are no more superior to Okinawans than Hitler's Aryans were to the Jews.

The increase in both Okinawan and Filipino families has meant a decline over the past years of *Naichi* families until today they comprise only half of the families of a community which was once essentially a *Naichi* neighborhood. Many of the families that left went to the proverbial 'greener pastures' of Honolulu to seek greater opportunities than the plantation could give them.

Means of Livelihood

Those that have remained, depend almost wholly upon the plantation for their livelihood. Many among the older generation, not having

overcome their language difficulties, and not having been fitted to do any work except the one which they have been accustomed to do, have developed an attitude of submission toward the white bosses, for fear of losing their jobs.

Not so the younger generation. They do not care especially to spend the rest of their lives laboring on a plantation. They are frequently the active members of the unions; they are the agitators of anti-management sentiment.

Of course, plantation labor is not the only future awaiting the youths of Camp 6. Some have gone into clerical or secretarial work; others into mechanical trades. Two enterprising young men have collaborated in setting up a flourishing cabinet making business. Many others aspire to positions away from the plantation, not so much because the plantation is bad, for conditions have improved tremendously but because there is not a definite limit as to how far an Oriental can rise. Many a youth has burned to see a responsible position awarded to some inexperienced *malahini* *Haoles* while a local Oriental was snubbed. But jobs are scarce and besides many have not the desire, or the ability, or the means.

Recreational Facilities

Camp 6 has no adequate recreational facilities. There was a 'clubhouse' once, a filthy, broken down shack. Many attempts to renovate it had failed, until it became nothing but a crap joint. It was only last year that someone had the sense to tear it down. Now there is room enough for the children to play baseball. They need no longer play in the streets.

Good facilities are available some distance away at the central gymnasium and pool but they must be shared with hundreds of other plantation children. Something of that sort right within the camp would do much to lessen the unduly high rate of juvenile delinquency. Smoking, gambling and

drinking among children are not at all uncommon. I was both shocked and dismayed to see a ten year old already an expert crap shooter.

Changing Customs and Attitudes

Marriage customs among the Japanese in my neighborhood have changed just as they have changed in other Japanese communities. Religious customs have changed too. Buddhism is the predominant religion, being practiced by all the Japanese families except one. But many of the rituals involved in Buddhism have been discarded. Years ago, before the war, the eighteenth day of every month was celebrated as a religious event to be held at one of the homes. Each Buddhist family had its turn. The priest came and chanted his prayers and all the men and women of the neighborhood prayed. Then tea and delicacies were served and the chatting and eating began. It was a social as well as a religious event and gave the older generation an excellent opportunity for exchanging choice bits of news and gossip. It was an event looked forward to.

Within our family too, many of the rituals have been abandoned. For instance, today only my mother fasts on occasions calling for fasting whereas in times past, the whole family fasted. Then too, we no longer pray in unison--each one prays when he is ready to.

Some of the people of Camp 6 have strange attitudes toward higher education. Eight years ago, big brother entered the University of Hawaii. It caused quite a commotion; the people thought he was 'getting too big for his breeches.' Second Sister, having won a scholarship, was next to attend college. Since then, several others from the neighborhood have gone on to higher education; one recently received a Master's degree in his field. By the time I was ready to enter college last year, attitudes had changed so much that one woman blandly told my mother that with so many people attending college, a degree meant little or nothing, inferring that it would only be a waste of time for me to enter the university. Perhaps, this is a sign that they have learned to accept

the college, as they have learned to accept the high school.

In other aspects too, our neighborhood has changed--for the better in most cases. Americanization, even though at an almost imperceptible pace, is the trend among the people of Camp 6.

HOUSING: AN INVESTMENT IN CITIZENSHIP

Constance C. Barnes

There are many who believe that private enterprise should assume the major responsibility for solving the housing problem in Hawaii. If it can construct houses profitably, it will provide homes for people in the upper income brackets. This will free their quarters for others in the next lower brackets, who in turn release older units for lower income families. Therefore, some families in each group will move up the scale and the intolerable situation will be vastly improved.¹ This, however, is a theory and not a fact, for most assuredly there will be families living with relatives in quarters not designed for family use, or in houses that are to be demolished for commercial purposes. Their moving does not free dwelling space for another family.

Construction of houses for those who can afford present day building costs is not the complete answer, for there is a limited number of people in the upper income bracket. Hawaii's 1947 tax returns indicate there were only 3,250 with net incomes in excess of \$5,000; 5,047 reported incomes between \$5,000 and \$3,500; and 70,444 had under \$3,500.² There were 285,862 reported by employers who received less than \$3,500 amounting to 90.99% of the total compensation returns.³ It is this large group that is badly in need of homes. They cannot build because they lack credit or have insufficient savings to meet periods of illness or unemployment and would risk too much in such an investment.

¹Editorial -- *Honolulu Star Bulletin* 2/2/49.

²Statistical data compiled from net income tax returns filed in 1948 on 1947 income. Office of the Territorial Tax Commissioner.

³Compensation of individuals in various brackets compiled from employers' 1947 information reports. Office of the Territorial Tax Commissioner.

To determine the lowest annual income that would permit an average family currently to purchase a house and lot without too great a risk, opinions were asked of individuals working in construction, real estate, city planning, loan companies, etc. There were many estimates due to variables involved in geographical areas, land values, improvements, and type of construction. The lowest estimate for a house and lot in Honolulu was \$10,000, and the minimum annual income required to meet this amount was calculated to be \$3,500. This falls in line with the theory that it is impractical to spend more than two and a half and never more than three times the annual income for a house and lot. It is important, however, to relate the down payment a person can make to the monthly payment. Families with high incomes usually spend less in proportion to their incomes for housing. Then there are other expenses that should be considered. Some of these are legal fees, taxes, maintenance, insurance, hot water heater, and furniture. All these items affect budgets of medium income families more drastically than those in higher income brackets. If we are to be realistic, it would be the individual with an annual income above \$4,500 who could purchase a \$10,000 home today without fear of losing his investment.

As for renting second-hand homes, families in the middle income groups find it difficult to meet the high rental rates and pay for other family expenses. The U. S. Dept. of Labor released in 1947, a report on cost budgets of thirty-four cities showing the total dollars necessary to provide family health, worker efficiency, nurture of children, and social participation by all members of the family. (Man, wife, two children under fifteen years.)¹ Nothing was allowed for savings. This study shows that even small families cannot pay high rentals and meet a modest but adequate standard of living. The lowest cost budget was

¹The City Worker's Family Budget, Report No. R 1909 U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1947.

\$3,004 for New Orleans, where \$37.00 was estimated to cover utilities and rental of an adequate house. Applying the 25% differential as a gauge, Honolulu's cost budget would amount to \$3,755 and the rent would be increased to approximately \$46.00. There are not many adequate houses for that price in this city.

Safe and sanitary houses for large families are scarce even at a rental of \$75.00 a month. Trust companies have long lists but few vacancies. Real estate offices continue to report that we are still in a seller's market so they have practically no rental listings. Newspaper advertisements occasionally offer rentals between \$70 and \$80, but these frequently have restrictions on race, children, or require home exchange, several months' rent in advance, or the purchase of an old car or furniture if the home is to be secured.

This serious housing condition is due, in general, to the lag in construction during war years when normal pre-war expansion gave way to unprecedented population increase. Slum areas have increased in size since 1940 as buildings have depreciated during the past nine years. The extent and number of unsafe and insanitary homes throughout the community are mute testimony to the fact that neither private enterprise, nor government has relieved the situation.

There are 4,093 families today living in temporary projects of the Hawaii Housing Authority. Eventually, when the units are demolished, these must relocate elsewhere. Each year more and more applicants are coming to the Hawaii Housing Authority.¹ All racial groups seem equally distressed if the number of applicants is related to statistics on the Territory's population. There

¹Statistics from Hawaii Housing Authority's Annual Reports.

	Applications	Applications Placed	Applications Not Placed
1946	5,198	1,399	3,799
1947	6,480	1,474	5,006
1948	7,144	1,775	5,369

were 1,580 families placed in projects on Oahu in 1948. The following percentages show the major racial extraction of the head of each household. The large percentage of Caucasians is due, in part, to placements during the year of the first three grades of distressed service families.¹

Caucasian	24.3
Chinese	4.0
Filipino	14.3
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian	12.1
Japanese	19.8
Korean	1.8
Negro	.5
Puerto Rican	4.5
Other	18.7
Total	100.0%

The following indicates some of the circumstances under which individuals in Honolulu were living when they applied to Hawaii Housing Authority in 1948.

<i>Applicants' Housing Condition</i>	<i>No. of Cases</i>	<i>Est. Av. No. in Family</i>	<i>Est. No. Individs. Affected</i>
Quarters not designed for family life	917	4	3,668
Forced to move	1,096	4	4,384
Substandard condition	241	4	964
Location inaccessible to employment	261	4	1,044
Separated families	256	4	1,024
Doubled up	2,274	8.8	20,011
Other temporary inadequate housing	183	-	-
	5,228		31,095

Although it was estimated that an average of four individuals in each household were affected

¹ There is no segregation on any project. Selection is made on degree of distress without regard to race, creed or political affiliation.

by most of the above conditions, cases of doubling up indicated a higher average since two or more families were living together. In a study of 416 applications on file, January 15, 1949, there were 6 cases where 18 individuals were living in two bedrooms, 7 cases with 8 people in one bedroom, 2 cases with 12 in one bedroom, and 22 cases with 8 in two bedrooms. The total number of individuals affected by the doubling up of the 416 families with relatives or friends was 3,699 or 8.8 in each household.

Excessive overcrowding offers many hazards to normal family life. Applicants report inability to train children, sickness, irregular hours and meals, insufficient or disturbed sleep, and emotional strain, giving facts that are similar in many ways to those told by Mrs. M. The M's live in a two bedroom house where each bedroom is 8' x 10', and the living room - kitchen is 12' x 16' (measured by HHA staff member). Mr. and Mrs. M and daughter, 7, sleep in one bed; Mrs. M's mother, 67, sister, 35, and the M's daughter, 16, in second bedroom sleep in a double bed. A daughter, 13, and son, 12, sleep in a single bed in the living room - kitchen, and an 18 year old brother sleeps on the floor.

During 18,090 interviews in 1948, Hawaii Housing Authority's staff members heard a variety of distressing conditions. A few situations were selected from those whose incomes were insufficient to build and who were unable to find homes for rent within their means. These will illustrate to what degree home life is affected.

Mr. G, employee, Navy Yard: annual income \$3328, wife and 2 children, applied 7/15/47, living doubled up with parents of Mr. G--great friction. Two months later moved to sister of Mrs. G where 6 lived in three bedroom home. Brother-in-law of Mrs. G's sister, with his family moved into home. G's went to grandmother of Mrs. G. Proving unsuccessful, G's moved to one room, with kitchen, bath, toilet shared with others. (Temporary as owner disapproved of children.) For more than

a year G's have occupied this one room with son, 10, daughter, 12.

Mr. M, rigger: annual income \$3744, wife and three children, forced to move as two bedroom home sold. Doubled up with mother of Mrs. M, 10 in two bedrooms for 7 months. Then Mr. M went to hotel because of family friction. From September to February 1949 Mrs. M and children in mother's home, Mr. M in hotel.

Mr. C, mechanic: annual income \$3889, wife and four minor children; former tenants of Palolo Housing project. Bought home, unable to make payments, lost investment. Wife with children in relatives' home. January, 1949 applicant injured on job. In local hospital; claimed so worried couldn't concentrate.

Mr. F, truck driver: annual income \$2875, wife and 7 children. Rented home was sold. August, 1948 moved to home of mother of Mrs. F. 14 people (three families) in two bedrooms but Mr. F went to his relatives. Since December Mr. and Mrs. F and their 7 children between 7 and 18 years of age have been located in one bedroom house. Children sick and Doctor strongly urges better housing.

Mr. S, mechanic: annual income, \$3200, wife and 5 minor children. Lived two years in home of Mr. S's brother, 15 in three bedrooms. Public Health nurse phoned that children in and out of local hospital, felt illness due to overcrowding. November, 1948 S family in a home of Mrs. S's brother--14 in two bedrooms.

The efficiency of individuals is lowered by such insanitary and substandard living conditions. Applicants, social workers, and others give distressing reports of the effect on employment and on school work, on family health, on the increase of negative attitudes of individuals toward their families and toward society. Where adolescents sleep in the same rooms as adults; where adolescents of different sexes occupy the same room; where there are two or more basic families in a house designed for one family; where baths, toilets, and kitchens are community affairs, the

effect upon members of each household is obvious and of even greater importance to the community than the depreciation of property due to such overcrowding.

For the welfare of our citizens, slums must be levelled and unsafe insanitary homes razed. All homes should provide pure air, daylight illumination, direct sunlight, protection against excessive noise, sufficient space in sleeping rooms to minimize contact infections, adequate privacy, bathing and toilet facilities private to the unit, facilities for the performance of household tasks without undue physical or mental fatigue, facilities to maintain cleanliness of dwellings and persons, and satisfactory neighborhoods. Today, there are at least 9,464¹ homes in Honolulu and 1,797² in Hilo that fall short of these basic requirements.

Hawaii's housing conditions are similar to those reported by many communities on the Mainland. The problem seems to resolve itself into three areas: Low Income Housing; slum clearance and urban redevelopment; and a program for supplying a substantial number of homes at a cost commensurate with incomes of the middle income group. In the first two of these, Hawaii has made at least a beginning.

There are 361 permanent Low Income units in Honolulu.³ The Hawaii Housing Authority has programmed the construction of two new Low Income housing projects that were deferred due to the war; i.e., Mayor Wright Homes, 390 units; Lanakila Homes, Hilo, 90 units. Hawaii Housing Authority also submitted a program to the 1949 Legislature for an additional 400 units--300 for Oahu and 100 for Hilo, which will be permanent slum clearance

¹Report to HHA by the Business Survey and Research Serv., August, 1948.

²Ibid, August, 1941.

³Annual net income at time of admission must not exceed \$2,400 for one or two minor children and \$2,700 for three or more minor children.

and Low Income projects. It also presented a shelf-application to the Federal Housing Authority for 2,107 units for permanent Low Income homes. The number of units that will result from this application will depend on the action taken by the eighty-first Congress.

Plans are underway for a gradual elimination of our slums. Present building codes, if enforced, will prevent the erection of new tenements and substandard homes. The Planning Commission, the Fire, Building, and Health Departments are responsible for seeing that all requirements for healthful housing are met. Good coordination between these departments and a staff adequate to enforce building codes are necessary to insure the building of safe and sanitary homes in the future.

Programs for the redevelopment and rehabilitation of slums and blighted areas are also under consideration. Several similar bills presented to the twenty-fifty Territorial legislature seek to cope with this problem. Their main difference is in the allocation of controls, whether to the Territory or to the County. For instance Senate Bill 315 confers certain rights and powers upon the Hawaii Housing Authority.¹ These relate to the acquisition and assembly by the Authority of real property in the areas designated for redevelopment; the demolition and removal of buildings, site improvements; installation and construction of streets, utility services, etc.; and the sale or lease of the prepared land to private or public agencies for redevelopment. It should be noted that the bill specifically states that the Authority shall not construct any of the buildings except to the extent authorized by Chapter 61 of the *Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1945*.

This particular Community Redevelopment bill requires joint participation by HHA and the

¹This article was prepared while the legislature was still in session, and before the outcome of the proposed legislation was known.

local governing bodies over areas to be redeveloped. The bill provides that detailed plans be reviewed by the governing body or the designated agency; and that after public hearings, the plans be approved or rejected by resolution. Such plans must be sufficiently complete to indicate: (1) relationship to local objectives; (2) proposed land uses; (3) building requirements; (4) areas to be made available to private and public enterprise for redevelopment; (5) method of financing; (6) method for relocation of persons living in the redevelopment area, as well as the method for providing decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for persons of low income, displaced from the redevelopment area, at rents within their financial reach; (7) conditions and terms of lease or sale requiring use of land as designated in the redevelopment plan within a reasonable time. The bill permits the Authority to make redevelopment land available for use at its use-value. A community redevelopment revolving fund also is authorized.

Methods for producing cheaper houses particularly for the middle-income group are being developed by private enterprise throughout the nation. Some believe it is necessary to reappraise government home loan requirements. Others suggest a different quality of construction or the cutting down of living space. Still another suggested approach is through mass production. Peculiar to Hawaii, there are factors that add to the difficulties confronting particularly the middle-income group. These are shipping costs and lack of available land for mass production.

Summing up, we may say that the various endeavors to relieve housing shortages are most encouraging; and within a few years we should see drastic changes taking place. How rapidly the process will be accelerated is dependent upon the will of the people. If a sufficient number is aroused over the way inadequate housing is affecting individual lives, they will do something about it. An enlightened public is a vital factor in resolving the housing problem.

FILIPINO PLANTATION ADJUSTMENTS

Benjamin Menor

The sprawling plantation community of Pahoa in the Puna district on the island of Hawaii--with its many ramshackle, white-washed dwellings and a few scattered semi-palatial residences, its quaint church, beautiful in its simplicity, the newly erected high school, and the ancient mule stables--has been 'home' to me for the past seventeen years. It was in 1930 that I came to Hawaii with my mother and sister from the Philippines. My father had migrated to Hawaii in 1925, and five years later had taken advantage of the then-existing sugar plantation regulations which allowed the workers to have their families with them, and so he sent for us.

At the time of our arrival from the Philippines, the inhabitants of Pahoa numbered about five hundred, and if I remember correctly, there were some two hundred students enrolled at the school upon my entry into that institution a few months subsequent to our settling in this community. Thus, nearly one half of the population were in school. Racially, of the total population of five hundred, 65 per cent roughly were Japanese and 25 per cent Filipino, while the other 10 per cent were composed of Portuguese, Chinese, and Hawaiians. Of the two hundred school students, 95 per cent were Japanese. Hence the number of Filipino students was very small indeed in proportion to the total population of 25 per cent Filipinos in Pahoa. The chief reason for this discrepancy was due to the fact that there were few Filipino women in the community. Thus there were hardly any Filipino families in Pahoa.

Most of the 'Pinoys' as the Filipinos are often called, were either young men who had come to the Territory in search of adventure or to attempt to escape from their lives of poverty in

the Philippines or were married men who had left their mates behind, with the idea of returning to their homeland after they had successfully achieved their financial objectives, goals which were never reached by the majority. Instead, many of these men kept renewing their contracts with the plantation, and gradually a few families trickled in. At the present time, there are twelve in Pahoa.

While on the whole the Filipinos on Hawaii's plantations have been a peaceful lot, what difficulties have occurred grew out of this great shortage of women. A woman was greatly prized. Thus it was not surprising that the chief aspect of disorganization among the Filipinos in Pahoa involved quarrels over women. These quarrels were infrequent however, for I have never witnessed more than a few arguments over women during my seventeen years in Pahoa. What quarrels occurred were settled peacefully without any serious consequences. The same has not been true of all plantation communities, however, for I can recall that there were a few acts of violence in a neighboring plantation--quarrels which resulted in clubbings or knifings, and some murders. Fortunately, such occurrences are very rare today and the trend is toward less violent resolution of conflicts.

A second factor that has promoted quarrels among the immigrant Filipinos has been their sensitivity and so-called 'hot-headedness.' Derogatory remarks as to their character especially are highly offensive to them. As an example, I can recall an incident that occurred in Pahoa. One Sunday, a Filipino volleyball team from a neighboring community invaded the volleyball stronghold of the Pahoans. The game was well underway when the referee, a resident of the neighboring community, called a questionable decision against the home team. A heated argument followed between the captain of the Pahoans and the official, which finally was climaxed by the

former chasing the latter with a knife. For a moment the situation seemed critical indeed, especially when the referee's cousin remarked, *'No saguidenna, diuray agpinnatay camin,'* meaning, *'If he touches him, I will fight him to death.'* More sensible words I have never heard, however, than those said by the brother of the chaser, *'Ti laeng sasaoem. Dinak ket tulongan nga mangpasardeng cadacuada,'* meaning, *'You're talking nonsense. You should be helping me to stop them instead.'* Thus, what started out as a tragedy soon turned into comedy, for one of the two principals involved--the chaser, fortunately--got tired of the chase, and urged by his brother, made friends with the intended victim. Soon they were both 'shooting craps' together like old friends.

The average Filipino in this little community has gone about his business with one thought in mind--to earn enough to enable himself to return to his homeland with something to show for the years of hard labor in the sugar cane fields. However, this ambition has never been fulfilled for most of them, due mainly to irresponsible Filipino 'leaders' who, coming from the city, exacted huge sums from them in 'get-rich-quick' schemes. In the case of one such leader, who promised the Filipino laborers a doubling of their investment in his 'association' in five years, their gullibility has paid off, not to their benefit, for today he lives in a semi-palatial home and drives a late model automobile. Practically every Filipino in Pahoa had joined, paying their hard-earned dues each month. My family also joined.

The Japanese in Pahoa have always been a peaceful people. A great number of them have acquired tracts of cane land to cultivate on a contract basis for the plantation and thus avoided the direct supervision of the management in matters other than those specifically provided for in the legal documents which they signed. Therefore, they were a great deal more independent than

the Filipinos and other nationalities. The half-dozen or so retail business establishments were, and still are, owned mostly by Japanese.

Today Pahoa is a thriving community of 750 people, and there are hardly any signs of racial discord. Common everyday relationships among the five different races--Japanese, Filipino, Portuguese, Chinese, and Hawaiian--are characterized by harmony and a spirit of comradeship. They call one another by their first names or in most cases by their last names which have, through continuous usage, come to be regarded as their given appellations. This mutual respect and goodwill among the races even survived through World War II. The war created only a minor and temporary disturbance. The word 'Jap,' synonymous with the enemy, was occasionally applied to the local Japanese. This was immediately after the outbreak of hostilities.

The relationships between management and labor have generally been amicable, except for a period during the recent strike when there was a certain amount of discord. However, the scars have healed and both factions are once more working together in relative harmony.

However smoothly the community of Pahoa is running in terms of race and labor relations, there is still one great obstacle to the complete assimilation of the Filipinos--namely, the unequal sex ratio of the Filipino population in the Territory of Hawaii. Now that the war is over and most of the fifty-three thousand Filipinos in the Islands seem to have the desire to live here indefinitely, the tensions created by the maldistribution of the sexes is a problem that can no longer be ignored. This is a problem that must be reckoned with not only by the Filipinos and their leaders, but by the Territory in general. Restrictions against Filipino women immigrants should be eased until such a time that their numbers approximate the number of Filipino males in Hawaii. Then will the Filipinos in Hawaii have a chance to resolve their most serious problem, and their early assimilation will be assured.

WAIMEA, HAWAII: FIRST IN CATTLE,
FIRST IN VEGETABLES

Louise S. Jessen

A line of saddled horses tied to a hitching rail in front of a rambling, one-story wooden building is the first thing you see when you drive into Waimea on the island of Hawaii.¹ The building houses the Parker Ranch office and the post office, which has the word 'Kamuela' over the door. The two names, Kamuela and Waimea, are used interchangeably to designate this community, in which are located the Territory's largest, and probably richest, cattle ranch, and its most productive vegetable growing area. When any differentiation is made between the two names, Waimea is likely to be used to refer to the larger area which surrounds the village of Kamuela.

A cowboy comes out of the ranch office, mounts one of the horses and rides away. Several others come riding along the highway, tie their horses to the rail, and enter the office. They wear high leather boots, khaki riding breeches, leather jackets, and broad-brimmed felt hats. If several are riding together, they may be singing Hawaiian songs. Mainland cowboys probably would ridicule these Hawaiians and call them effeminate, because many of them wear flower leis on their hats. All have a heavy raincoat neatly wrapped in a small bundle and firmly strapped to the saddle.

The majority of Parker Ranch cowboys are Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians with a few Portuguese and Japanese.

A few hundred feet from the ranch office is the court house, a small frame building. Nearby is the Waimea Elementary School. Across the road are the grounds of the Waimea Ranch Hotel, a low

rambling structure set well back from the highway and reached by a circular driveway bordered with flower beds. Although called 'the ranch hotel,' it is owned by outside interests.

A restaurant, store, and a community hall, all owned and operated by the Ranch, are conveniently near the Ranch office.

When you drive farther along the road, you come to a vegetable packing shed operated by the Kamuela Farmers' Cooperative Association. This large, barn-like structure was a warehouse for the Marine Corps during the war. Here, during most of the day, you will see from four to eight women and two or three men working at a long grading and packing table. The women may be trimming the outside leaves off head cabbages with quick, deft strokes made with a heavy knife. As they finish with the heads, they push them along the table to the men, who pack them tightly into crates, nail on the top boards, and paste on white and green labels, each bearing a farmer's number and the words 'Kamuela Farmers' Cooperative Ass'n.' Instead of cabbage they may be packing head lettuce, celery, daikon, or burdock. These are Waimea's largest crops. Smaller amounts of spinach, beets, peppers, broccoli, sweet corn, cucumbers, rhubarb, Chinese cabbage, and parsley are raised. In one year recently, Waimea farmers shipped more than three thousand cubic tons of produce to Honolulu.

The Waimea district is the only place in the Territory where Great Lakes lettuce is raised commercially. This light green variety makes large, firm heads that sometimes can almost be mistaken for cabbage heads. Great Lakes was introduced to the Waimea growers about 1941, by George Marvin, the agricultural extension farm agent. During three months' study leave on the Mainland, Marvin visited various lettuce-growing areas. After studying the conditions under which Great Lakes thrives, he was convinced that this variety would do well in Waimea. He brought back

¹Waimea is located in the broad 'saddle' between the Kohala mountains, Mauna Kea (Large Mountain), and Hualalai.

seeds for the farmers to try and made contacts with Mainland seed houses to supply Great Lakes seeds. From the same visit, Marvin brought back seeds of the Special Utah Green Celery. Waimea farmers had not grown celery previously. When the war greatly decreased the importation of fresh vegetables, Waimea lettuce and celery were in great demand on the Honolulu market. They are now Waimea's most important crops. Celery is not grown commercially anywhere else in the Territory.

It is generally recognized that beef and vegetable production in Waimea have been carried to a high state of efficiency, probably the highest in the Territory. The topography and climate make such efficiency possible.

In recent years, a third industry, flower production, has developed in Waimea. It is small, but growing. The two convenient airports have stimulated its development. Flowers shipped by air express are in Honolulu in less than two hours.

The village of Kamuela is at 2500 feet elevation. The weather is fairly cool all the year. After dinner, even in June, hotel guests crowd around the huge fireplace in the hotel lobby to enjoy a big log fire. There is ample rainfall for vegetable growing during about nine months of the year.

The five hundred acres on which about thirty-five Japanese farmers grow vegetables are extremely level. The soil is deep and rich, with no rocks. The cool climate makes the area ideal for growing such crops as lettuce, celery, and head cabbage. The level fields make mechanization practical and profitable. Waimea farmers use more machinery than those of any area of similar size in the Territory.

One farmer, who is fairly typical, owns a tractor-drawn two-row cabbage transplanter, a four-row seeder, a fertilizer distributor, a three-row cultivator, a six-row power duster, and

a four-row power sprayer. This man farms twenty acres. The largest farm in the area is forty-two acres, the smallest less than an acre in size.

Facilities for shipping produce to Honolulu are adequate. The Waimea airstrip is less than a mile from the packing shed. There is also an airport at Upolu Point, twenty-five miles away. The S.S. Humuula leaves Kawaihae, about eight miles away, two or three times a week.

The Waimea airstrip was built by the Federal government during the war for use of the U.S. Marines stationed at Waimea. It was closed when the war ended but taken over by the Territory, reconditioned, and put into use for commercial planes in the fall of 1947.

The opening of this airstrip was accomplished after considerable agitation for it by Waimea vegetable growers. They made their desires known through resolutions passed by their cooperative organization, by talking to politicians and government officials, and through newspaper and radio publicity.

The cool mountain slopes that surround the level vegetable area are as well suited to the production of beef cattle as the Waimea plain is to vegetables. Parker Ranch cattle are fed entirely on grass. No grain is used even for finishing the steers for market. The half million acres of pasture land are divided into different paddocks by fences. In summer, when there is little rain in the lower areas, the cattle are put into the higher and greener pastures. For finishing they are put into pastures where the most nutritious grasses and legumes flourish.

Parker Ranch land is largely Territorial land held by the Ranch under several long term leases, usually running for twenty-one years.

Richard Smart, the sole owner of Parker Ranch and now a theatrical singer, seldom visits Waimea.

He inherited it through his mother who was a descendent of John Parker, the founder of the enterprise. Parker is supposed to have received the land that formed the nucleus of the present huge holding as a grant from one of the Hawaiian kings in the early years of the nineteenth century. The holding has been built up to its present size by purchase and lease.

Parker Ranch is always one of the first of the ranches in the Territory to try out new grasses and pasture legumes recommended by agronomists of the University of Hawaii Agricultural Experiment Station.

The Ranch slaughters some cattle, selling the meat on the Big Island. Large numbers of live animals are shipped to Honolulu each year. They are driven to Kawaihae, where they are loaded on cattle boats.

Between one and two hundred people are employed by the Ranch. Besides cowboys, there are bookkeepers, cooks, store-keepers, blacksmiths, fence riders, general maintenance men, and dairy workers. The Ranch operates a small dairy to provide milk for employees and others in the community.

Most of the employees live in houses provided by the Ranch. Single men live in a barracks-type building. They have cooking facilities, but they may also eat at the Ranch restaurant, which is open to the public. Most of the houses are in the vicinity of the Ranch headquarters but are not clustered together as plantation houses in Hawaii are.

These houses look shabby from the outside, but not more so than many of the farmers' homes. In recent years some farmers have improved their homes. Several have built new ones. On several farms the old house is being used as a tool shed. Waimea farmers made money during the war years and they are probably making money now.

Parker Ranch store, which sells to everyone in the community, often on credit, is an integrating force tending to draw together both farmers and ranch employees. General merchandise and grocery prices are about the same as in other Big Island stores. Meat is cheaper. Employees can buy both meat and milk at very low prices. Last summer they were paying ten cents a pound for stew meat and forty for steak. Prices to others in the community were somewhat higher.

Another integrating force is Barbara Hall, the community hall, owned by the Ranch and used by Ranch employees and their families for social gatherings. They may invite their friends even though they are not Ranch employees. At Christmas a large party attended by young and old is held at the Hall. The Ranch gives all employees a substantial gift at Christmas. If the head of the family is employed, every member of the family receives a gift. If someone other than the head of the family is employed, only the employee receives a gift.

It is difficult to assess the role of the six churches in the community. The churches, including two Buddhist temples, are all located within a distance corresponding to a few city blocks. The Mormon and the Roman Catholic churches have the largest memberships and are most influential. The truck-crop growers, especially the older people, are Buddhists. The Mormons have a gymnasium and recreation hall in connection with their church. This is a popular meeting place for many groups and is used probably as much as Barbara Hall.

In contrast to Ranch employees, Waimea farmers take an active interest in politics. During a recent election campaign, it was reported that political candidates and their representatives visited farmers at work in their fields, talking campaign issues while the work went on. When Delegate Joseph R. Farrington visited Waimea, a group of farmers went to see him to ask him to use

his influence in Washington to get an irrigation project for Waimea, a project that would provide water during the comparatively dry summer months. On other occasions they have been quite vocal in letting legislators know what they want. They have said that, in addition to irrigation water, they want more fee simple land to be made available for purchase; they wanted the Waimea airstrip; and they suggest than an experimental farm at Waimea, managed by the University of Hawaii, would be desirable.

It is expected that the farmers would be more active politically than Ranch employees. The requests mentioned in the preceding paragraph are for things that could be granted, at least in part, by the Legislature. All of the farmers are for measures that would better economic condition. Unlike some urban wage earners who depend largely on collective bargaining with employers, the farmers must depend on legislation to better their lot.

Ranch employees are not unionized at Parker Ranch or at other ranches in the Territory. Although beef production is a big industry, the ranch labor force is small compared to that of sugar and pineapple plantation labor. Thus, it is not strange that there has been no organization of ranch workers. At least such an attempt has not succeeded as yet.

Thus, while the ranch community resembles a company town in many respects, and notwithstanding the fact that there is little similarity in the way ranch employees and farmers earn their living, Waimea is more nearly one community than two. The school, the churches, the Ranch store, and Barbara Hall draw people together.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON WAIMEA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE JAPANESE*

Whenever there is a community affair like a fair, which comes once in three years, or a Bon (a memorial for the dead) dance, or a community picnic, the entire community of Japanese is present. Also, when a family is in distress, everybody comes to help. When a person goes, for example, under an operation, all the people visit the patient bringing gifts such as canned fruits with them. Once the Miki's home burned to the ground. All the people got together, supplied the family with food enough to last half a year, contributed some clothing, and loaned them a house free of rent. When Mr. Suzuki, the Japanese school teacher and minister of our community was taken to an internment camp on the mainland, my father loaned the Suzuki family a home free of rent and together with other families contributed money to Mrs. Suzuki and her five children every month. My mother insisted that this should be done, for she believed Mr. Suzuki went to internment camp for the sake of the Japanese people of Waimea. Also, she thought this was a good opportunity to show our gratefulness since Mr. Suzuki had taught Japanese to all my older brothers and sisters. My mother stressed the fact that we must not forget the *O-ni* (sacred obligation) for any teacher regardless of his race or color. At the height of the roundup of these men, many Japanese came from all over Waimea just to check and see whether my father had been picked up. This shows how concerned one family was for another family's welfare, especially during the crisis.

Before the war, the relationship between the *Naichi* and the Okinawans was not too intimate. I remember when I was in the second grade, Mrs.

*The editors felt that the following observations by a Nisei of Waimea might add to the readers' understanding of the community.

Kauwe, a part Hawaiian teacher, filling a report required by the Department of Public Instruction on different races, said, 'All Japanese children, please stand up.' All the Japanese children stood up; and an Okinawan girl, Jane, was one of the first to stand. Upon seeing Jane standing, a *Na'ichi* boy, James, said quite innocently, with childlike naivete, 'Jane, sit down, you not one Japanese.'

Many parents in Waimea feel that their children should not continue their schooling beyond high school, and some even discourage attendance at high school. They feel that the children should help on the farms, gardens, or stores. There are very few students from Waimea who are attending various colleges and universities today.

Since there are not many recreational facilities in Waimea, gossip is widely indulged in, much of it harmful.

The war, however, has changed Waimea a great deal. An electric power plant was established, together with a beauty parlor, an ice plant, and other modern facilities. The war has made many Waimea people prosperous. There are many Buicks and Packards in place of the former dilapidated Model T Fords and there have been extensive improvements in homes like the installation of indoor bath rooms. Many modern homes are under construction which will eventually bring up the standard of living. Different races that were quite prejudiced with one another before, seem to be more tolerant with each other now. The Parker Ranch Club has been organized to hold monthly community dancing, an active Boy and Girls's Scouts have been organized, and the Buddhist Sunday schools provide for more healthful recreation for many children. The few teachers fresh out of college are now teaching at Waimea School, taking the initiative to start new interesting clubs and recreation.

This summer I shall have an easier time teaching Sunday school at the Buddhist church since we do not have to speak in Japanese anymore. We may speak in English, which is much easier for the majority of Nisei in Hawaii to express themselves, rather than in Japanese. The advent of the war has made this change possible.

Little by little, breaking her shell of isolation and provinciality, Waimea is emerging steadily as a busy, co-operative community. When I graduate from this university, I hope to go back to Waimea and do my part by contributing to the general well-being of the children.

CAMP FOUR

Ann Takano*

Ours is an ordinary plantation camp with ordinary but interesting people. The camp must be more than fifty years old, since my father was born there. During those earlier days the camp was much smaller, but today it has grown to cover an area of about one half square mile. Camp Four is the center of all plantation activities. People from the other plantation camps work here in the sugar mill, they come to the political rallies at the mill and attend the ball game at the park.

Camp Four, now the home of many races, was once made up of four separate camps--Japanese, Portuguese, Filipino, and Haole. Since the 1946 sugar strike, however, this sharp division has been disappearing. More Japanese are moving out toward the Haole camp and at least one Filipino family has moved to a better house in the Portuguese camp. Where once there were about twenty five Haole homes, today there is only a row of ten homes in which the Haoles live. The Japanese, together with one or two Portuguese families, have taken over the rest of the homes.

There are about forty-five Japanese families of which nearly half are Issei and the rest are Nisei. One might expect constant conflict between the two groups, but I feel that they get along rather well. The Nisei, it is true have Americanized and Hawaiianized the traditional customs but they have also tried to be considerate of Issei wishes. At the same time, it seems that the Isseis have been giving up many things naturally to the Nisei.

Our neighborhood is so small and so closely knit that everyone knows what everyone else is

*This is a pseudonym used at the request of the writer in order to prevent embarrassment to persons involved.

doing or is supposed to be doing. Gossip, which is the great concern of the old and young, both men and women, has a great deal to do with keeping discipline in the community. For example, when a person dies, everyone in the camp turns out to help, for fear of being talked about by the people who do help. I had the same experience myself once when I felt compelled to participate in a funeral party in the neighborhood because my mother was away on another island. I brought my own knife and apron and went over to the house. I guess I was the only unmarried female helping to prepare the food. I mingled with the older ladies, peeling potatoes and cutting carrots and just listened to the jabberings of both women folks and men folks. Finally at lunch time when the customary meatless food such as *nishime*, *shirai*, etc., were spread on tables in the camp hall, who should come to eat, but the husbands and children of the ladies who were helping. It seemed as though everyone was feasting at the expense of the deceased person. On two other occasions I represented the woman of our family at community affairs, a wedding and the eighty eighth birthday of the oldest member of our camp. I might have been excused from both of these affairs because of my school work and responsibilities at home, but I was afraid of the gossip that might go around.

Gossip, gossip, gossip, that's about all the women do when they get together. When relatives or friends come for a visit and when I go home for the Christmas it seems that both my mother and grandmother have something to say about every other person in camp. Over the fence and sitting on porches, the folks talk about how so and so slapped her husband's face and locked him out, how it could be that a certain woman became pregnant before marriage, how the reckless boy got into the motorcycle accident, who flunked in school, how the young girls make up, how hard this mother beats her children, etc. This can go on and on, hour after another and still there is more to say.

In spite of all the gossip that goes around, I do not recall any fights or quarrels resulting.

I have already mentioned funerals, weddings and an eighty eighth birthday as occasions in which the entire camp participates. There is another gathering which is quite peculiar to our camp. That is on New Year's Day. This is time the ladies do not come together to prepare the food, since the Japanese custom does not allow one to do any work on this day, each family donates about three different dishes, prepared the evening before. These are brought to the camp hall by nine in the morning and spread out so that everyone can see. Soda water is provided by one of the clubs and the men bring their own beer. The men and children usually eat first, then the ladies, and people from other camps and towns sometimes come over to finish what remains.

This custom was practiced in our camp for years, then stopped during the war and began again about three years ago. This occasion shows the camp people at their best, all in a festive mood and dressed in their finest.

Leadership in the camp since the war has been turned over to the Nisei. Today they do the collecting of money and planning for war rehabilitation, Community Chest, and school projects. The old men usually go around only when donations are sought for the Buddhist temple in the next plantation camp.

Our camp is divided into two main religious groups--one composed of the older members who believe in Buddhism; the other, chiefly of school children and unmarried adults who attend the Episcopal church. In this case, too, there is little conflict because each group is tolerant of the other and because the ministers of both religions do not live in our camp. In our camp it appears that the Buddhists are gradually 'dying out' and that the youngsters should become Christians.

There are a number of depressing aspects of life in Camp Four. Mental abnormalities, for example, are probably magnified rather than diminished by the intimate character of camp life. Sometime last year one of the camp girls who had been in the mental institution at Kaneohe came back home. Before becoming ill, she was one of the more popular and beautiful girls but now this has changed greatly. Since she has no work, does not desire any, and has nothing else to do, she walks around the camp every day. She looks very lonely and in need of friendship, but whenever she goes walking, she is obviously avoided by some of the ladies in camp. Even some of her former classmates will not recognize her. One of the small boys who called her 'pupule' received a good slap from the girl.

Another depressing sight in our camp is the recreation hall. Although it is supposed to be a sort of canteen-clubroom, it serves simply as a 'hang-out' for the high school boys. There, late at night when my father used to drive me home from work, I could see boys squatting around, smoking, drinking cokes, and playing cards. The girls in our camps have better clubs and are controlled more effectively by gossip, perhaps because they are more dependent on their families and do not enjoy the economic independence of the boys. At any rate Camp Four has come to be known as one of the worst neighborhoods on the island for juvenile delinquency.

Both the war and the 1946 sugar strike have contributed to the increased delinquency by undermining the prestige of the older men and increasing contacts with the outside world.

KONA - HAVEN OF PEOPLES

Andrew W. Lind

Kona is a land of many and varied attractions. The district of leeward Hawaii extending over 900 square miles from the summit of Mauna Loa (13,680 feet) to the sea, has always appealed to the imagination of Islanders and visitors alike. Kona is much like an island, being separated on all sides by wide barriers to contact--barren lava deserts on two sides, high mountain domes on the third, and the sea on the fourth--but like many other islands it also has numerous contrasted areas within.

There is the dry, tropical coastal area, with its quiet, pleasant bays at Kailua, Keauhou, Kealahou, Honaunau, Hookena, and Milolii and the broad and sometimes forbidding tongues of lava extending into the sea along the intervening areas. This is the only part of the district which many visitors have ever discovered in Kona and is, of course, the area of concentration for the fishing population of the district, whether for sport or livelihood or both. The sea has always held a particular fascination for all residents of Kona, including those who live at a considerable distance and who enjoy it chiefly for the delight it provides their eyes.

Back from the seashore a mile or two, and at an elevation of from 700 to 1500 feet, however, is a totally different Kona, cooler, moister, and more susceptible of agricultural cultivation. This is the Kona noted for its 2,500 acres of dark-leaved coffee groves which provide the economic support of most of the 7,000 residents of the district. Along the thirty miles of the belt road which winds in and out along the undulating slopes of the mountains at about the 1000 foot level are scattered a dozen or more small centers of business and population. Here the larger

schools are situated, as well as most of the stores, churches, and smaller commercial hotels. Scores of small auxiliary roads and trails lead off from the main street to the homes apparently lost among the coffee groves or to the sleepy little villages along the coast.

As one proceeds still further upland along the gentle slopes of Hualalai and Mauna Loa, new types of landscapes and economy appear. Tall stands of lacy-leaved koa provide the locale for a small lumber-mill. Occasional pockets of rich agricultural land permit the use of power tools for the cultivation of temperate vegetable crops such as cabbage and Irish potatoes. Along the drier and less arable extremities of the district where the lava flows have been more recent and at the higher elevations, cattle raising is the principal source of livelihood.

It can hardly be said that Kona constitutes a community. Its area is too vast, its geographic character too varied, and its population too widely distributed and segregated. Kona is rather a collection of many small hamlets and villages, scattered along the main belt road and along the sea coast. Each little community has its own character determined by geographic and historical factors peculiar to itself, and yet there is a marked degree of similarity among all the communities of Kona. It is difficult, however, to state precisely wherein this unity consists, and the purpose of the present paper is merely to suggest one of the elements which contributes to the community of life in Kona.

One of the familiar sights in Kona for nearly every visitor is the 'city of refuge' at Honaunau, and to a degree this spot gives character to the entire district. According to William Ellis, the early British missionary explorer, the City of Refuge at Honaunau was one of several sacred enclosures in Hawaii which

afforded an inviolable sanctuary to the guilty fugitive...the man who had broken a tabu...and the vanquished in battle.... The priests, and their adherents, would immediately put to death anyone who should have the temerity to follow or molest those who were once within the pale of the *pohu tabu*; and, as they expressed it, under the shade or protection of the spirit of Keave, the tutelar deity of the place.¹

In a very real sense Kona has been throughout both pre-European and post-European days a *pohoua* for all types and varieties of the people.

Central Kona was one of the major centers of life at the time of Captain Cook, and it was on the shores of populous Kealahakua Bay that the great explorer finally lost his life. Captain Cook was obviously greatly impressed by the high concentration of natives in the area, and his journalist records:

I had nowhere, in the course of my voyages, seen so numerous a body of people assembled at one place. For besides those who had come off to us in canoes, all the shore of the bay (Kealahakua) was covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming round the ships like shoals of fish. We could not but be struck with the singularity of the scene....²

Even after a half century of devastating epidemics and widespread depopulation it was estimated that Kona still supported some 20,000 native residents. Ellis, on his famous missionary tour around Hawaii in 1823, wrote of Kona as 'the most populous of the great divisions of Hawaii' and well cultivated to a distance of from two to four miles from the sea shore throughout the central portion of the district.

Leaving Kairua (Kailua), we passed through the villages thickly scattered along the shore to the southward. The sides of the hills, laid out for a considerable extent in gardens and fields and

generally cultivated with potatoes, and other vegetables, were beautiful.³

Largely because of its diversified character, Kona has continued during the past century and a half as one of the important havens for the native population,⁴ while at the same time it has attracted a considerable number of foreigners. The Hawaiians in Kona, as has been true throughout the Islands, have found refuge chiefly in the marginal portions of the district--along the sea shore and at the southern and northern extremities where the land is rocky and difficult to cultivate. It was to these remote land-islands within Kona that the inexperienced natives could and did flee from the rigors of the western competitive struggle.

During much of the nineteenth century, Kona's isolation sheltered the natives from the spread of western diseases, and the Hawaiians of Kona maintained their numbers reasonably well until about 1850. No physical barriers, however, could permanently stay the spread of western influences, including the diseases to which the Hawaiian natives were highly susceptible, and Kona has experienced as rapid a decline in native population since 1850 as most other parts of Hawaii. The very isolation of the district has restricted the spread of western medicine and public health measures which might reinvigorate the Hawaiian population. Native folk practices, no longer appropriate to the changed conditions of life, have persisted to a striking degree in Kona, exceeded perhaps only in remote Hana on the island of Maui.

³Ellis, *op.cit.*, p. 77.

⁴This generalization is confirmed by two simple statistical indices provided in the U.S. Census. The ratio of the number of pure Hawaiians to part-Hawaiians has remained considerably higher in Kona than in most other portions of the Territory. The same has been true of the proportion of persons of pure or part-Hawaiian ancestry in the total population.

¹William Ellis, *A Narrative of a Tour Through Hawaii*, p. 127.

²Captain Cook's *Voyages of Discovery*, p. 389.

The Haole⁵ observers have tended to glamorize the easy going life of the small native communities, and most of the published descriptions paint an overly idyllic picture of the isolation which Kona has provided the natives. A local resident wrote in 1897:

The strip of land along the sea about two miles wide is occupied by Hawaiians who have comfortable little homes by the seashore. They prefer to live by the sea for several reasons. Their ancestors lived there, their homes are already there; their wells are there, and they fish daily. The Hawaiian's food is poi and fish... Nearly all day Saturday you have the musical and happy sound of taro-beating which is performed by the man, dressed for the occasion, so that they soil no clothing, and are kept cool at this very warm work. Around them are the rest of the family, the chickens, dog and cat, all lying down and looking happy... The other days of the week are spent planting or hoeing taro. Fishing is usually done mornings and evenings... Their chief diversion is going to the boat, covered with leis. Most of the Hawaiians by the seashore have coffee land which they lease to the Japanese at high prices, or on which they raise wild coffee. Other ways of getting ready cash are raising cattle, pigs, and working on the new road.⁶

There is little doubt, however, that the life of the 2,000 odd natives and Hawaiian mixed-bloods who still reside in Kona is more nearly in conformity with this traditional Hawaiian culture than is true in most other rural areas of the Territory. By the same token, Kona's Hawaiians are probably more normally adjusted than most. (This, of course, is only an impression based upon field observation, but would require additional research to substantiate.) The deviations from the old order of life are more apparent in the central sections of Kona where the natives still talk nostalgically of the 'good-old days' and cast

somewhat envious and condescending glances at their relatives down in Milolii or Hookena.

These Hawaiians in Kona (Central) are not those Hawaiians who used to live here long time ago. Many of them have forgotten about the old ways of eating. Long time the Hawaiians used to raise their own vegetables, and a few pigs. Today, these Kanakas don't know how to make poi. They buy from the factory and most of them have taken to rice. Their cost of living has gone up. Some of them don't eat their own fish; they buy cod-fish or salted fish from the stores. My folks all like poi, but they all buy... Twenty-five years ago there used to be plenty of Hawaiians, now only a handful is left. This F.E.R.A. project made the Hawaiians less and less dependent upon themselves. They get a little cash and spend it. They don't care to raise taro and vegetables as they used to.⁷

The publication of the journals of Captain James Cook in 1784 was the first occasion for bringing Kona to the attention of the western world, and the effect was apparently negative for the most part. Despite the religious veneration in which Cook was held by the natives and the generous gifts of hogs and vegetables more than sufficient for (their) subsistence bestowed upon his crew, Cook's biographer described the district as the 'disastrous place which will ever derive a disgraceful immortality for his sad fate.'

Limited contacts with European and American trading vessels, from 1787 onward, affected the character of life in Kona, much as it did elsewhere in Hawaii, by the introduction of western diseases, artifacts, and ideas. Until after the arrival of the missionaries in 1820, however, few of the white sailors who left their ships in Kona remained permanently, and these few became, for all practical purposes, Hawaiians, living with

⁵A person of North European ancestry.

⁶Kona Echo, July 17, 1897, p. 1.

⁷Field interview, July, 1935.

native women, adopting their speech and manners of life, and even acquiring somewhat of their appearance.

Beginning with the two married couples of protestant missionaries who took up residence in Kailua in April, 1820, determined to cover the land 'with fruitful fields, pleasant dwellings, schools, and churches,' a small permanent community of Haoles began to take form in Kona. The thirteen protestant missionaries and their families who served in Kona from 1820 to 1860 were drawn to the district primarily by a sense of religious and moral obligation, but they formed the nucleus around which a foreign community later developed, and a number of their children chose Kona as their permanent home.

It was, however, the Haole sailors on the trading and whaling vessels who were most readily attracted by the physical charm and isolation of Kona, and their roistering enthusiasm for what Kona had to offer frequently brought them under the ban of the missionaries. In 1832 it was said of one such resident of Kailua that 'like nearly all the non-missionary whites of those days, Mr. R. was of irregular habits, and naturally hostile to the missionaries whose efforts tended to restrict immoralities.'⁸ Another member of a missionary family described the situation of the Haoles in the early sixties as follows:

We used to have a good many whaling vessels that used to come to Kealahakua Bay. I remember seeing eight or nine vessels in at the same time. They stopped here for repairs and to get supplies of fuel, water, fruit, and vegetables. The sailors were the scourge of the country. We all dreaded their coming. A good many would desert here, and the captains would offer rewards to the natives for bringing them in. I have seen sailors led down the road in chains. The sailors would come in from their hiding places as soon as

they saw the ship go out of the bay; the natives or others would capture them, and later the captains would return to pick them up...Some of the sailors remained here permanently...Sometimes the captains would leave unruly sailors to get rid of them. I remember one man...who was a very good man when kept away from liquor, but later he worked for the store at N. and one time when the man in charge went to Honolulu, he drank up all the perfumes and hair tonics. There were really a good many sailors who landed here and married (Hawaiians). The descendants are still in the district.⁹

It appears that the mounting contacts with the outside world, coincident with the development of western agriculture from 1860 onward, have not seriously diminished Kona's role as a sanctuary for the oppressed the disillusioned from almost every part of the earth. Remittance men seeking to forget their shame, tired adventurers hoping to find peace and security, men of wealth and social distinction searching for the simple life, bohemians casting about for the freedom from convention and a prying public, deserting sailors, health faddists, religious quacks, and philosophical utopians--all looked to Kona as their El Dorado. For the past fifty years Kona has been rife with the stories of its peculiar characters.

It would be hard to find another place on earth where you could meet so many nationalities, globe trotters, and other interesting characters, many of them intelligent, speaking several languages. They go all over the world, come here and marry a native woman, settle down to a happy domestic life, get fat on poi and so unfit themselves for roving.

Benjamin Temorio...left his home 9 years old on a Spanish war vessel. After serving his time he enlisted on an English man-of-war, then again on a French gunboat...Then he boarded one of Uncle Sam's big fighting vessels and saw some action during the Civil War. Getting accustomed to the

⁸Old Memories of Kailua, *The Friend*, Honolulu, 59(1901), 12.

⁹Field interview, July, 1935.

roaring of the cannon...he tried whaling along the Greenland Coast...He has coasted most countries of the world and has been in their big cities...He is now settled down in Kona, married to a good native wife, enjoying himself...

Another interesting character...is James Smith, six feet high, muscular body, easy manners...of Banff, Scotland...Served in the Union bank, plowed the deep for years...drifted to Hawaii, gave his Scotch heart to a beautiful native wahine, and settled down in balmy aired coffee clad Kona. He has held many important positions, even in the 'Paradise of the Pacific,' such as luna on plantations, luna on roads, manager of commercial establishments, etc.¹⁰

The accounts of similar characters in Kona have not changed significantly in the intervening years. Field notes in 1935 report the stories told of two brothers who were reputed to be quite wealthy when they arrived in Kona seeking a more healthy environment.

One of the brothers was very sick and they thought he might be improved by coming here. They claimed to have come from Canada, but they originally came from England. They had traveled all over the world, in the Orient, the Transvaal, the West Indies, everywhere imaginable. Well, the one who was sick finally died, and that pretty near finished the other one. He got to drinking and honestly he could hold more liquor than any man I ever saw. Once he acted as though he had the d.t.'s but I really don't know whether he did or not.¹¹

The surviving brother lived for a considerable time longer as an obscure but widely discussed member of the community.

Particularly along the coast there has been a succession of beachcombers who have availed themselves of the hospitality of the Hawaiians. A

¹⁰ Kona Echo, July 24, 1897, pp. 7-9.

¹¹ Interview with local resident.

British remittance man is reported to have lived with different natives as long as they were willing to keep him. There have also been reports within recent years of Haole sailors who have 'turned completely native' and are living with native wives.

Within the past year even the Honolulu newspapers have carried accounts of a former electrical engineer who claims to have found paradise in Kona. For several months he lived as a squatter in the public park at the City of Refuge, content to exchange his skill as a raconteur for the fish and poi which the neighboring Hawaiians were willing to provide. He claims to have traveled extensively in the South Seas, but nowhere had he found a situation so satisfying as in Kona.

Despite the racial and class segregation which still exists within the district, the tales about other colorful individualists are told and retold throughout Kona. Both Honolulu and Hilo newspapers have carried the story of the S family and of their high adventures in subsistence agriculture, vegetarianism, and nature culture. Others, similarly disposed--nudists, religious devotees, neo-Marxians, tired reformers--have found the situation in Kona stimulating but less satisfying as a place of permanent residence and they have drifted in and out of the district.

Most of the adult residents of Kona, it is true, have either migrated to the district or have chosen to remain because of the economic opportunities provided there. Coffee, the chief agricultural crop of the district since about 1890, has been responsible for attracting most of the population to the area. Other agricultural experiments--tobacco, cotton, sisal, pineapples, sugar cane, macadamian nuts, and vegetables--as well as cattle raising, fishing, and weaving, have also given some persons a livelihood in Kona for short or longer periods of time. The professions

Table I. POPULATION OF KONA AT SELECTED DATES BY RACIAL ANCESTRY

Ethnic Groups	1853		1878		1890		1900		1930		1940	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	7223		3728		3565		6191		9405		7948	
Hawaiians	7134	98.8	3482	93.4	2880	80.9	2797	45.2	1395	14.3	937	12.5
Part-Hawaiians	29	.4	130	3.5	268	7.5	466	7.5	983	10.4	1298	16.3
Haoles	35	.5	64	1.7	151	4.2	745 ^a	12.1	120	1.3	425 ^a	5.4
Portuguese			3	.1	126	3.5			356	3.8		
Chinese	22	.3	43	1.2	125	3.5	460	7.4	141	1.5	124	1.6
Japanese					8	.2	1718	27.7	4845	51.5	4182	52.7
Filipino									1128	11.9	745	9.4
All Others	3		6	.2	7	.2	5	.1	437 ^b	4.6	237 ^b	3.0

^a Includes Portuguese as well as Haoles.^b Includes Koreans, Puerto Ricans and all others.

and business have drawn still others to the district. The change in the ethnic character of the population of Kona is, therefore, closely correlated with the fortunes of western agriculture within the district.

During the early period of experimentation in western agriculture, the founder of one of Kona's most noted families settled in the district and laid the basis for one of its largest landed estates and much of Kona's agricultural development, particularly in cattle ranching and in coffee cultivation. Under the influence of the wealth and position achieved by this family, there has been established in Kona a colony whose cultural roots are primarily British. Kona is sometimes called the English Coast of Hawaii, in contrast to the "Scotch Coast" of Hamakua,¹² Hawaii, not only because a small site on Kealahou Bay surrounding the spot where Captain Cook is supposed to have been killed in 1779 actually belongs to Great Britain, but because of the important part played by this one family and its various satellites in the economic and social life of the district. Enlarged by other arrivals from England and its overseas empire, and dignified by an improving economic position, the English colony of Kona developed for some time into the local "haute monde." The Episcopal Church in central Kona, built as a memorial to the founder of the dominant family and largely supported by his descendants, symbolized the cultural aspirations and isolation of this new landed nobility.

The Japanese have been the most numerous among the immigrants attracted to Kona, and the actual cultivation of coffee has gravitated largely into their hands. During the 'nineties of the last century, Kona offered an ideal hide-out for the Japanese immigrants who had grown restive under the restrictive plantation regime. The small Japanese newspaper of the district, *The Kona*

¹² Noted for its large number of Scotch plantation managers and overseers imported by the British controlled sugar factors.

Echo, carried numerous references during 1897 and 1898 to the 'large number of Japanese men from Hilo and Hamakua' and to the considerable 'Japanese who have been deserting the plantations lately and coming here.' It is still common knowledge among Issei, particularly on Hawaii, that the more rebellious and less tractable among the Japanese plantation workers fifty years ago sought to escape to Kona and there lost their identity under new names.

Kona was the land of refuge for those who couldn't stand the plantations in Kohala, Kau, and Puna. They would come to Kona to hide in the coffee fields,--some of them from their plantation bosses, and some of them from angry Japanese. You see, runaway women and their new 'husbands' had to hide from the woman's former husband, because if they were caught, they would get into pretty serious trouble. Sometimes the woman would have to keep on moving from Holualoa to Kealahou and from Kealahou to Hookona, and so on. She would often change husbands too so that it would be harder for her former husband to trace her... There were cases in which no one knew who the woman's true husband was. At times she would have several bachelors with her.¹³

Kona's Japanese have been recruited chiefly from among the immigrants from the two prefectures of Kumamoto and Fukuoka whose population in Japan are noted for their independent and somewhat refractory character.¹⁴ Despite the considerable out-movement of Japanese coffee farmers to the sugar plantations and the cities, in periods of low prices, Kona's Japanese population has remained consistently high in immigrants from Kumamoto and Fukuoka. Certainly one of the important factors which has kept many of the Japanese families in Kona despite the isolation, adverse living conditions, and dismal economic prospects has been the

relative freedom of movement and action which the district has provided its residents.

The role of Kona in attracting the more adventuresome and non-conforming of the immigrant generation is clearly evident also among the other ethnic groups, notably the Filipinos and Koreans. It is to be expected, however, that as the district loses its pioneer character and is drawn within closer range of Honolulu and Hilo by improved roads and air plane facilities, Kona will also change considerably in its power to attract the deviants and the malcontents. As direct air communication with Honolulu is established, Kona continues to be a haven--now for the tourist seeking a touch of the native Hawaiian culture and for the retired and aged seeking quiet and rest.

¹³Field interview, 1935.

¹⁴In 1935, 51.8 per cent of the Japanese immigrants in Kona as compared with 22.5 per cent in the entire territory, had been born in these two prefectures.

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